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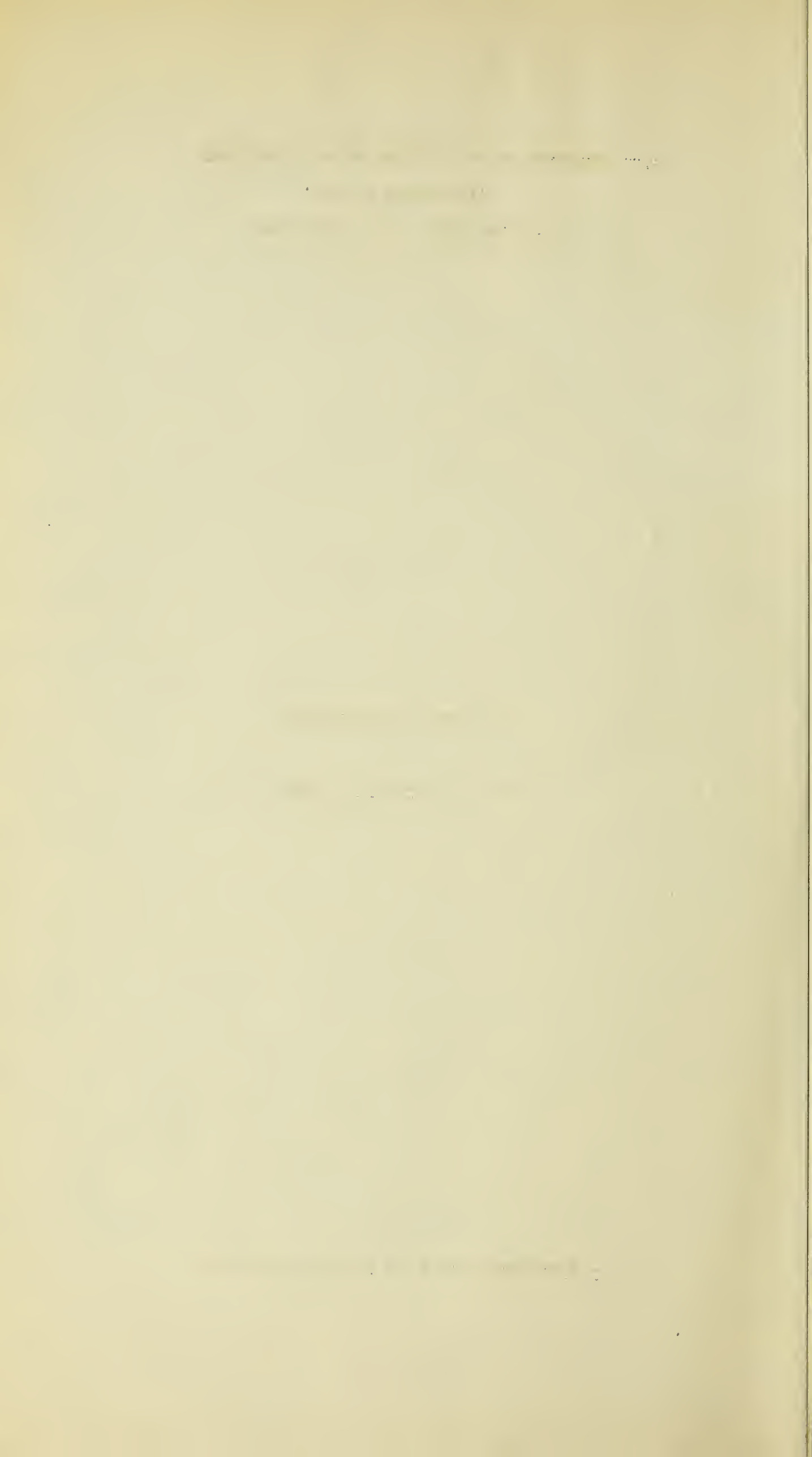
ITALIAN RENAISSANCE PAINTING

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THE SIENESE SCHOOL

(Nos. 703-735)



Anonymous Artist (Thirteenth Century)

Altarpiece of St. Peter (Second Half of Thirteenth Century)

Tempera on Wood

Siena, Academy

The old Italian cities maintained dissimilar ideals in their art in spite of close proximity and commercial intercourse. While the painters of nature-loving Florence were seeking means of representing forms more naturalistically, those of mystic Siena were satisfied with enhancing the sweetness and grace of the old mediaeval forms and with elaborating the rich ornamental detail. As evidence that the great masters of the early Sienceschool, Duccio and Simone Martini, were not without forerunners we have a precious polyptych which once decorated the altar of the church of S. Pietro in Banchi. The unknown author of this altarpiece of St. Peter was apparently an Italian under the influence of Byzantine miniatures, an influence especially noticeable in the folds of St. Peter's drapery. The wooden throne, decorated with intarsia, is likewise in the Byzantine style. Such a throne appears as early as the sixth century in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (no. 391). For the prototype of the apostle himself - earnest, introspective, seated in hieratic manner - we go to the famous bronze statue now in St. Peter's, Rome. We cannot be sure that precisely this statue was the prototype; it was in the little church of S. Martino, west of Old St. Peter's, when the altarpiece was painted, and was scarcely so well known as to-day.

Evidences of the painter's originality appear in the side panels. It is almost invariably true that the wings and especially the predellas of altarpieces show more originality than the central panels. Dogmatic religion demanded traditional forms for the prominent positions. In the subordinate divisions artists felt freer to experiment and to give their own interpretations of subjects. Here, in the scene of the Annunciation, Gabriel rushes forward with the impetuosity which became customary only in later pictures, and in Mary we see, perhaps for the first time, the shy, anxious movement that is usually considered Simone Martini's invention. In the Nativity, though the general composition is traditional, the motherly feeling that Mary expresses for her Child is new. The scene of the Freeing of St. Peter from Prison foreshadows even Raphael's treatment of the subject in the Vatican Stanza. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes is of less interest, and the Fall of Simon Magus and the Crucifixion of St. Peter are not in a condition to reveal much concerning the artist's style; zealous Christians have hacked away the evil persecutors.

Duccio (c. 1260-1319)

Rucellai Madonna (1285)

Tempera on Wood. Madonna above Life-Size

Florence, S. Maria Novella

In the period immediately preceding the activity of Giotto the art of Florence was at a relatively low ebb, and for a number of important commissions artists were called from Siena. The archives of Florence still preserve an agreement made by Duccio on April 15, 1285, with the Society of St. Mary the Virgin to paint a Madonna for their altar in S. Maria Novella. Until recent years this Madonna was believed to have been lost, and following a tradition born of Florentine conceit the famous Rucellai Madonna was assigned to the "father of Florentine painting," Cimabue. Modern criticism almost unanimously connects it, however, with the document of April 15, 1285. The painting was probably removed from the chapel of the Society of St. Mary when that room was taken over and redecorated by the Bardi family in 1335. In the sixteenth century Vasari saw it in the right transept, just outside the Bardi Chapel. This was where the Society of St. Mary had continued to meet. Subsequently the picture was placed in the Rucellai Chapel, from which it derived its present name.

There is a similarity between this panel and Cimabue's Madonna in the Uffizi (no.739). It would have been strange if Cimabue's monumental work, painted only a few years earlier and displayed to all the world on the altar of S. Trinità, had not influenced the young Sienese painter working in Florence. But obvious points of similarity are outweighed by more subtle differences. The throne of the Rucellai Madonna, though richly ornamented in detail, is less monumental and imposing than that used by the Florentine; its model may well have been the wooden throne in the St. Peter altarpiece at Siena (no.703). The angels at the sides are not, like Cimabue's, the calm, faithful guardians of the Virgin's throne. They have just flown down and kneel poised in the air or lightly touching the floor while they look with yearning, mystic adoration at the holy Mother and Child. There is a sweetness, a preciousness in every curve of their delicate forms that is purely Sienese. In detail, also, they show important differences from the angels in the Uffizi panel: compare, for example, the beautiful modeling of their feet with the conventional rendering in the other case. At first sight the two Madonnas seem strikingly similar, but we soon discern an internal contrast: Cimabue's Virgin is more matter-of-fact; she is conscious of our presence. Duccio's Virgin is wholly absorbed in her own meditations; she looks not at us but through us. And most important of all is the difference in the treatment of their draperies. The graceful, wavy design of the gold edging, that fascinates us like the design of a Chinese painting, becomes with Duccio and his followers one of the most characteristic features of Sienese art.

705

Duccio (c. 1260-1319)

Majestas (Madonna in Majesty) (1308-1311)

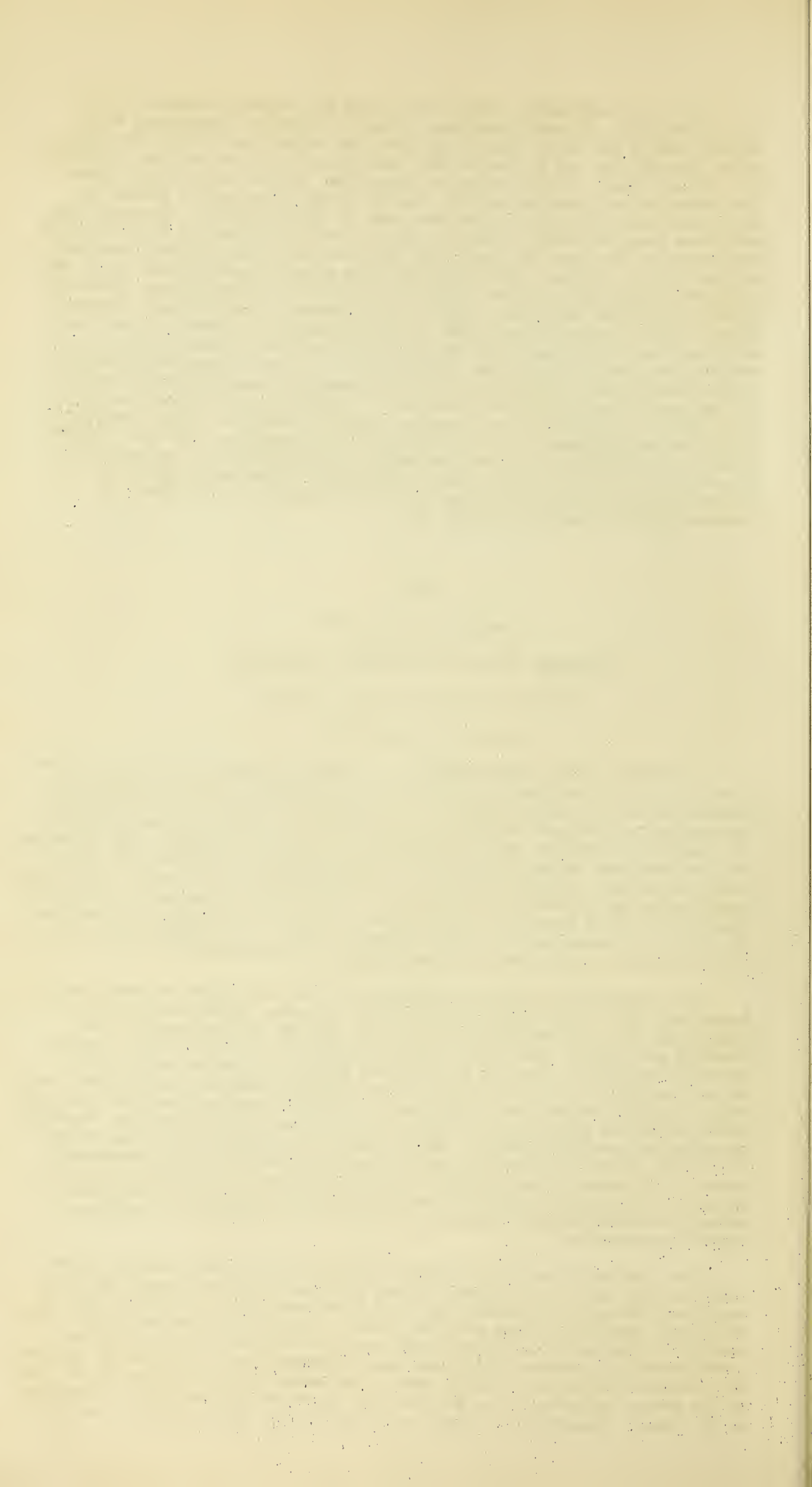
Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 10½ in.

Siena, Opera del Duomo

In October, 1308, Duccio contracted to devote his entire time to the execution of a picture for the high altar of the cathedral at Siena. Continuous, painstaking labor finally brought it to completion on June 9th, 1311, and it was carried amidst great rejoicing from the artist's studio to the cathedral. All business and traffic were suspended in the city for the day. The archbishop led the religious bodies at the head of the procession; then came the civil officials and the citizens; women and children brought up the rear. All carried their tapers and marched to the ringing of bells and the sounding of trumpets. Time has justified Duccio's contemporaries in their appreciation. To-day this altarpiece is considered one of the greatest works of the Sienese school, and it is to Duccio's career what the Arena Chapel is to Giotto's.

It is significant that the masterpiece of the Florentine reformer was in fresco and that of his Sienese parallel, in tempera. Contrasting with the Florentine taste for breadth and simplicity was the Sienese fondness for minutiae and finish. The fresco painter worked from a light basis, keeping the white surface of the wall for his high lights. Hence the bright, airy effect that Giotto was able to give to his sparsely peopled compositions. The tempera painter worked from a dark basis; after the outlines had been drawn all flesh parts were covered with a dense coat of green; the modeling was obtained by laying on the lights and the ruddier tones with stippling and then fusing the colors by working them over and over and covering them with transparent glazes. The green ground absorbed so much light that it was never possible to obtain by this method much brightness and clearness. Hence the deep, rich effect that aided Duccio's expression of mystic contemplation in elaborate, crowded compositions.

The altar which Duccio's painting decorated was probably double, to be used from the choir side as well as from the side facing the nave. At least, the great ancona was originally intended to be seen from both sides, each of which had, besides its main scene or scenes, a decorated predella, frieze, and pinnacles. The paintings on the main panels of the back and those of the predelle and friezes have long since been separated, many scattered in museums and private collections (several came on the market a few years ago in the sale of the Benson collection, and two were then acquired for the Frick collection, in New York), though most of them are in the room of the Opera del Duomo at



Siena where the front panel is now to be seen. (The ancona was divided and moved into the transept of the cathedral in the early sixteenth century to make way for a bronze tabernacle by a second-rate sculptor. Its removal to the cathedral museum is a matter of comparatively recent years.) We are not entirely certain of the original order of the scenes. On the fourteen small divisions of the predelle, separated by single figures of saints and prophets, were scenes of the life of Christ on earth, beginning on the front side with the Annunciation of His Birth and continuing on the back to the Raising of Lazarus. The twenty-six divisions of the main panel of the back took up the narration with the Entry into Jerusalem and carried it through the Passion to the Road to Emmaus. The eight divisions of the front frieze depicted scenes from the last days of the Virgin; those on the back recorded Apparitions of Christ after the Resurrection. Thus, including the great front panel of the Majesty, Duccio's altarpiece was almost as comprehensive in subject matter as were the frescoes of the Arena Chapel (cf. nos. 744-747).

The main panel of the front is a sweet, melodious hymn to the Virgin. Seated on a richly ornamented marble throne, she accepts with a gracious inclination of her flower-like head the homage of saints and angels crowded about her throne. These are rapt in their own thoughts; they are unrelated except in so far as the meditation of each is centered on the Virgin. She herself is dreamy and absorbed, only subconsciously aware of the presence of her Child and worshippers. Not a rustle, not a breath is heard; hands are raised and heads are bent, but the poses are fixed; all in this holy presence are spellbound by the mystery which they contemplate.

Kneeling in the front row are the four patron saints of Siena, St. Victor and Bishop Crescentius on the left, St. Ansanus and St. Savinus on the right. Immediately above, on the left, stand Sts. Catherine, Paul, John the Evangelist, and two angels; on the right are two angels, Sts. John the Baptist, Peter, and Agnes. The top row is filled entirely with angels. Above the cornice half figures of the remaining apostles (Sts. Peter and Paul appear in the part just described) detract from the panel as it now appears; but we must imagine it completed by the predella, a row of small scenes in a frieze at the top, and above this pinnacles in which were probably small half figures of angels. The ten half-length apostles are identified by inscriptions above their shoulders the ten saints below by inscriptions along the bottom, and on the step of the throne, in Gothic majuscules, is the inscription:

MATER. SANTA. DEI.
SIS. CAUSA. SEMIS. REQUIET.
SIS. DVICIO. VITA.
TE. QVIA. DEPINXIT. ITA.

"Holy Mother of God, in thee may Siena have tranquility and in thee may Duccio, who has painted thee thus, have life."

Though we do not meet this elaborate type of Madonna picture in Florentine art, it was already in Duccio's day characteristic of Siena, where the cult of the Virgin was highly developed. In this main panel Duccio has used traditional forms and, in general, traditional arrangement. Greater sweetness, grace, and refinement are his contributions. For his more striking innovations we must look at the small, subordinate scenes (cf. nos. 706-708).

706

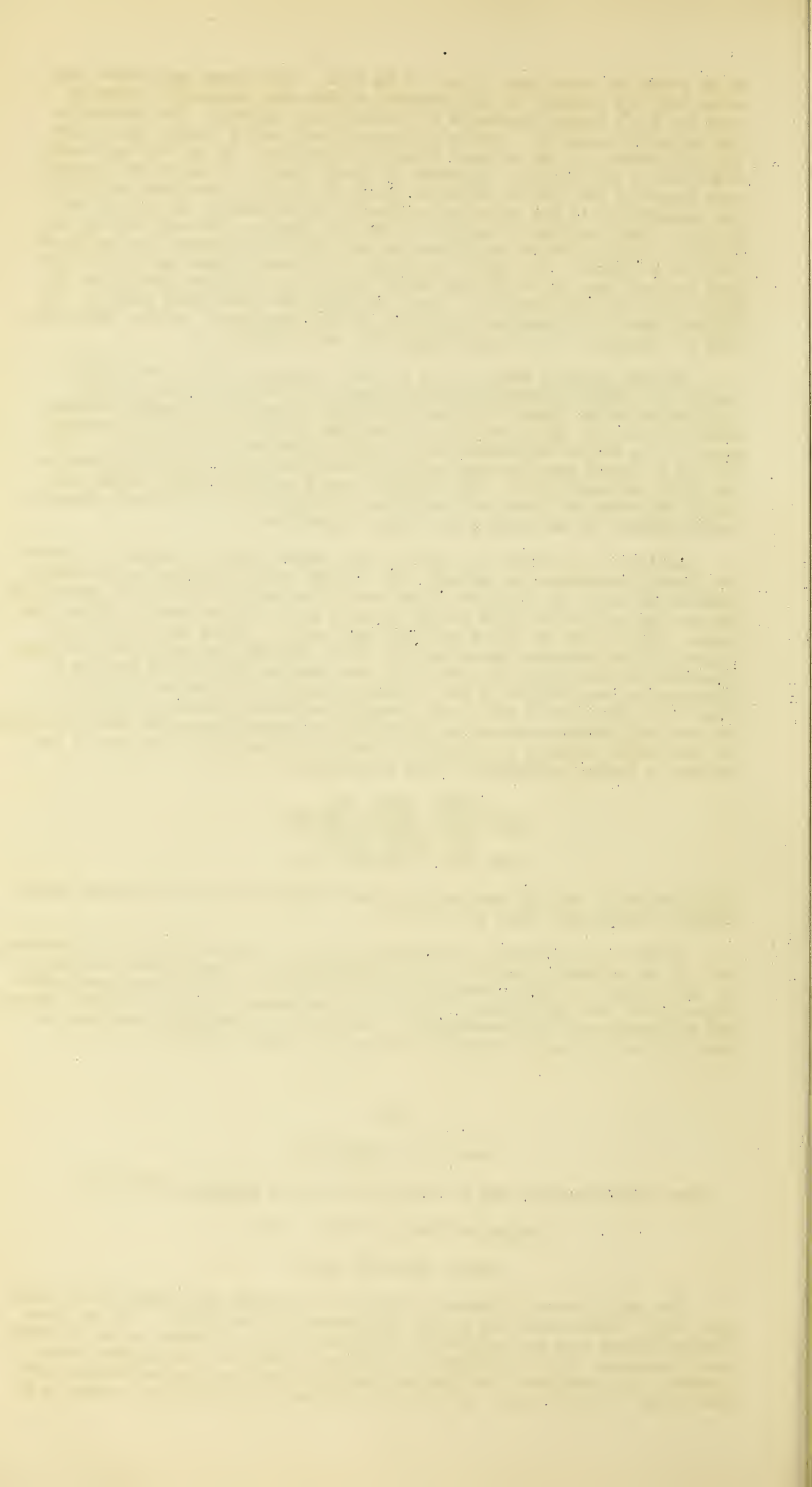
Duccio (c. 1260-1319)

Entry into Jerusalem: One of Scenes from Back of Majestas (1310-1311)

Tempera on Wood. H. 3 ft., 4 in.

Siena, Opera del Duomo

The small scenes of Duccio's altarpiece, like the main panel of the front (no. 705), follow older art in the arrangement of the figures. But to these figures Duccio gave new animation. Where opportunity offered, as in the Entry into Jerusalem, he also designed an elaborate setting of contemporary architecture. The perspective of the architecture leaves much to be desired, but the effect is picturesque, not merely symbolical as with Giotto. There is a



good suggestion of the hilly North Italian town, with stone paved streets shut off by walls from the charming courtyards. In the heads looking down from vantage points in the buildings we are reminded of the joy of the Oriental miniaturist in such bits of imitation of nature. Not only do these and such other accessories as the boy climbing the tree at the left prove Duccio's power of observation; the people in the main scene are drawn with excited gestures and expressions appropriate to the occasion. But he never sacrificed beauty of design to naturalism. The draperies are drawn with an eye to attractive linear design, not with the purpose of expressing the rotundity and solidity of the body beneath. Especially fine is the gold-edged mantle of Christ. (Following Italo-Byzantine tradition, Duccio has shown Christ in the scenes of His earthly life clothed in the gold-edged garment; in His apparitions, after the Resurrection, His drapery is cloth of gold.) The blaze of gold halos that sets off the holy group from the crowd of spectators is placed in a line behind all the figures to avoid any halos cutting into the heads of the rear apostles.

This scene, the first of the twenty-six that were originally on the main field of the ancona back was at the extreme left. It occupies a space twice as high as most of the others, reaching from top to bottom of the field. The scenes adjoining at the right (the Last Supper, below, and Jesus Washing the Apostles' Feet, above) show the usual disposition of the scenes in two horizontal bands.

707

Duccio (c. 1260-1319)

Peter's Denial: One of Scenes from Back of Majestas (1310-1311)

Tempera on Wood. H. 20 in.

Siena, Opera del Duomo

The First Denial of Peter, on one of the small panels from the back of the Madonna altarpiece, is represented as taking place in the courtyard of an elegant house, against the wall of which steps lead up to a projecting balcony. A group of men sit about a fire warming themselves and conversing. Peter, assuming indifference, has joined the group, but the maid at the left, recognizing him, stops suddenly and calls out her accusation. Peter is equally quick and energetic in his denial of any relationship with Christ. The varied attitudes and gestures of the figures in this composition are remarkably well observed. There is an interesting series of faces turned to the right: first, behind Peter is the traditional Byzantine mask of a choleric old man; then we have Duccio's variant of the three-quarters view in the next to the right figure of the back row, where the inclination of the head gives a touch of sentiment and an entirely different contour; the man seated on a four-legged round stool at the left is in normal but characterful profile; and, finally, the maidservant, who seems to be carrying away her charcoal container and about to retire into the house, if the circumstantial but unorganized architecture permit it, is seen in that rear view with disappearing profile later to be perfected by Jan Vermeer of Delft. In faces turned to the left we have again a variety of three-quarters views and a profile but nothing so unusual as the maid.

708

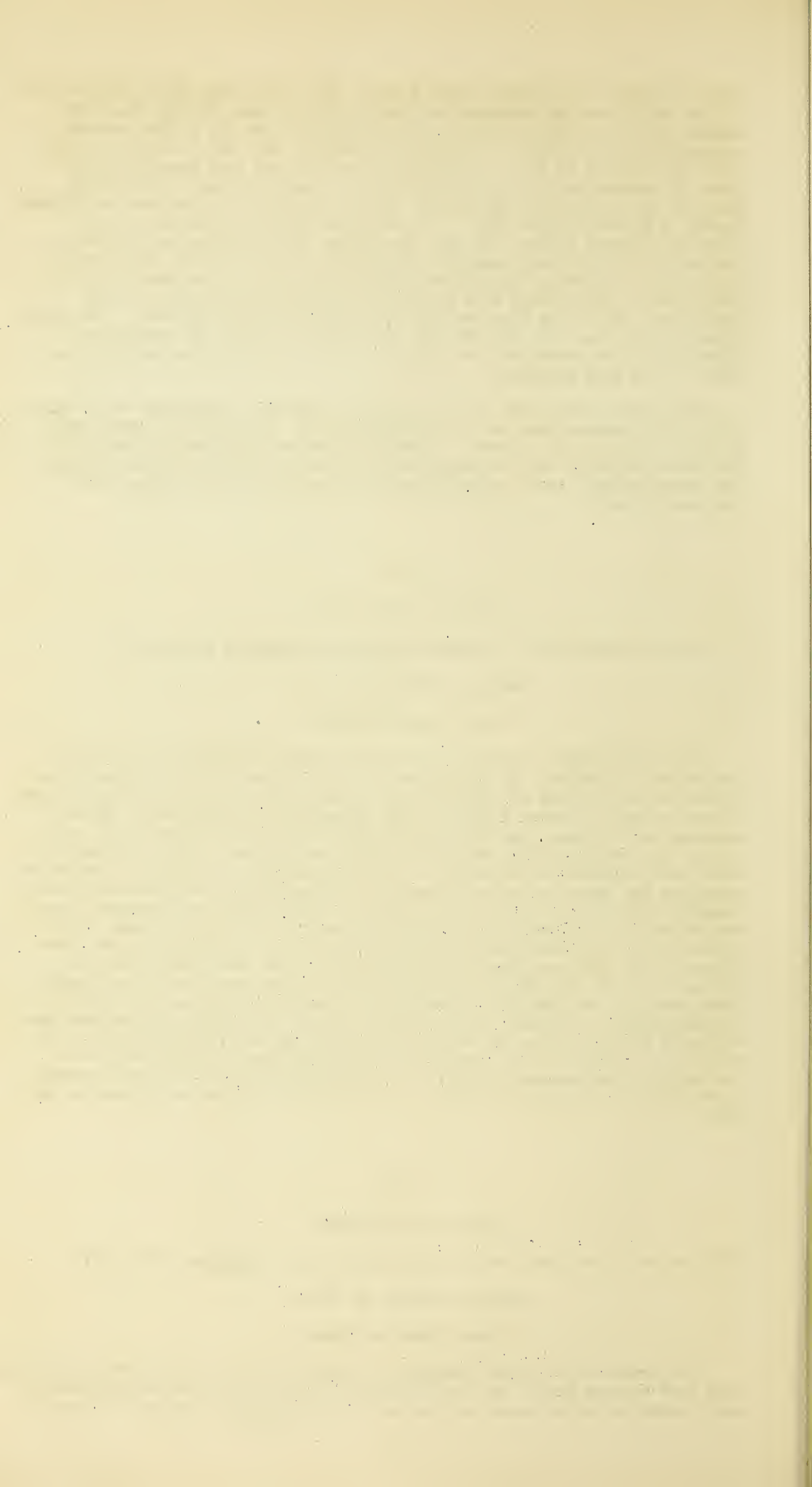
Duccio (c. 1260-1319)

The Maries at the Tomb: One of Scenes from Back of Majestas (1310-1311)

Tempera on Wood. H. 20 in.

Siena, Opera del Duomo

The traditional iceberg mountains retained by Giotto in his early paintings were used also by Duccio for the background of the scene at the empty sepulcher and a number of other panels on the back of the Majestas. But while Giotto



invented a new, monumental arrangement of the figures, Duccio followed a time-honored scheme. That scheme was entirely suited to his purpose: he could make with it an exquisite design. He was not in the least concerned because the lid of the sarcophagus tipped in an impossible way, with the angel playing teeter-totter on it; the curious perspective and angle of the lid he adopted from established mediaeval iconography. He personally was interested in the pleasing pyramidal design formed by the angel and lid and in the repetition of that design in the mountain behind. He was interested in the graceful curves of the angel and their reverse repetition in the tall, shrinking figures of the three holy women. The emotion is restrained, or rather, there is not that deep, stirring emotion that requires restraint. The figures sway like tall flowers moved by a gentle breeze. The whirlwind effect of Cimabue (cf.no. 741) is unthinkable in Duccio, for he was lyric, never dramatic.

709

Martini, Simone (c. 1284-1344)

Madonna in Majesty (1315; Restored by Martini, 1321)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Siena, Palazzo Pubblico

Four years after Duccio had completed his famous Majestas for the center of Siena's religious life Simone Martini painted one which has attained equal fame for the center of her civic life. Duccio's was painted at the end of his life, when his style was fully formed. Simone's was painted in the early part of his career, when he was influenced by the older master.

The Majestas in the Palazzo Pubblico is done in fresco, covering a vast area on the end wall of a large room. The theme, the Madonna adored by a host of saints and angels, is the same as that of Duccio's altarpiece, and many of the heads are thoroughly Ducciesque. But Simone's conception of the whole is entirely different from Duccio's. In the earlier picture the worshippers are in compact rows filling every inch of space and originally they were closely pressed by the frieze and predella, so that we do not think of space in connection with them. Simone lifted his Madonna on a high, elaborate Gothic throne, clothed her in gold and silver brocade, put a diadem on her head, and covered her with a rich canopy. The worshippers are no longer in stiff, horizontal rows; they are grouped easily and loosely (though the two sides of the composition are still symmetrical), with the principal lines of their arrangement semicircular. All about the group a space is left, especially at the top, and there are no subordinate scenes to press upon it, only a rich Gothic frame to define the limits of the composition. Thus, the solemn, religious ceremony of Duccio's Majestas has been changed by Simone into festive pageantry, where court personages surround the throne and charming pages offer baskets of flowers to the queen. Looking at the traditional characterizations and symbols, we recognize kneeling beyond the angels in the foreground the patron saints of Siena, Sts. Victor and Crescentius at the left, Sts. Ansanus and Savinus at the right. Standing behind them, at the left, are St. Paul, the archangel Gabriel, and St. John the Evangelist; at the right, St. John the Baptist, the archangel Michael, and St. Peter. Further back, again at the left, are Sts. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, and at the right, Sts. Agnes and Barbara. The two angels between these female saints and the throne, two more angels flanking the throne at the very back, and ten apostles complete the assemblage.

In the corner medallions of the painted frame are the evangelists. In the middle medallion at the top is Christ Blessing. In the corresponding position in the lower frame is a double-headed figure emblematic of the Old and New Testaments, as indicated by the scroll of the Decalogue in one hand and the scroll of the Seven Sacraments in the other; in the borders of the seven-sided nimbus worn by this personification the cardinal virtues are indicated. At the sides of this medallion appear the obverse and reverse of the coin of Siena, with the inscriptions: *SENA VETVS CIVITAS VIRGINIS* and *ALPHA ET OMEGA, PRINCIPIVM ET FINIS* ("Siena the ancient city of the Virgin" and "Alpha and omega, the beginning and the end"). The remaining medallions of the frame contain saints and prophets with inscriptions in honor of the Virgin.

A fragmentary inscription in verse in the center of a second, lower, border gives the date of execution of the painting and the name of the author:

MILLE TRECENTO QVINDICI VOLTE ERA ...
ET DELLA AVIA OGNI BEL FIORE SPINTO ...
ET IVNO GIÀ GRIDAVA I' MI RIVOLLO ...
S A. MAN DI. SYMONE

The political nature of the picture is indicated by another, rhymed, inscription, in which the Virgin is represented as speaking to the people of her favored city, Siena. The first stanza of this inscription is on the bottom step of the throne; the second stanza is a little lower, in a border:

LI ANGELICHI FIORETTI, ROSE E GIGLI
ONDE S'ADORNA LO CELESTE PRATO
NON MI DILLETTAN PIÙ CH'E BVON CONSIGLI
MA TALOR VEGGIO, CHI PER PROPRIO STATO
DISPREZZA ME E LA MIA TERRA INGANNA
E QVANDO PARLA PEGGIO E PIÙ LODATO
CON CIASCHEDVN QVI QVESTO DIR CONDANNA.

DILETTI MEI, PONETE NELLE MENTI
CHE LE DEVOTI VORSTRI PREGHI ONESTI
COME VORRETE VOI, FARO CONTENTI
MA SI POTENTI A DEBIL FIEN MOLESTI
GRAVANDO LORO O CON VERGOGNE O DANNI
LE VOSTRE ORAZIONE NON SON PER QVESTI
NE PER QVALQVNQVE LA MIA TERRE INGANNI.

"The angelic flowers, roses and lilies, with which the field of heaven decks itself, do not please me more than true words; but sometimes I see one for selfish ends malign me and betray my land, and the greater his falsehood the more his praise with those who are hereby condemned.

"My dear ones, bear in mind that your devout and sincere prayers I shall fulfill according to your desire; but whenever the strong molest the weak, oppressing them with shame or harm, your prayers are not for these nor for any traitors to my land."

As early as 1321 the fesco was so badly damaged, probably by dampness, that Simone was called upon to restore it. He renewed entirely the heads of eight figures; they are the two angels offering flowers, Sts. Crescentius, Ansanus, Catherine, and Barbara, and the Virgin and Child. This restoration by Simone at a later period in his career probably accounts for part of the dissimilarity to Duccio in these heads, for their Gothic, rather than Byzantine, character. The heads of the Virgin and Child are particularly fine; the Child is beautifully naturalistic. More recent injuries and repaintings have left for us but a shadow of the original splendor of the fresco; yet it remains one of the most fascinating of all Madonna paintings.

710

Martini, Simone (c. 1284-1344)

Knighting of St. Martin (c. 1325)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church

The frescoed decoration of the chapel of St. Martin shows almost none of the dependence upon Duccio that we see in the Majestas of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (no. 709). The St. Martin paintings are done in Simone Martini's individual manner.

The chapel itself is a beautiful Gothic structure, perhaps designed by Simone. Its complete decoration produces a unified effect comparable on a small scale to that of the Arena Chapel (nos. 744-747). The story of St. Martin, taken from the Golden Legend, forms the subject matter of the principal part of

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the decoration, which covers the arched forepart of the chapel. Over the entrance the founder of the chapel, the Franciscan Cardinal Gentile, kneels before St. Martin. Eighteen busts of saints are painted in the three window arches, and eight full-length figures of saints, in pairs, adorn the entrance arch. Round the separate compositions are borders with medallions containing busts of saints and angels. The stained glass windows, with figures and designs that were probably planned by Simone, complete the decoration of the chapel.

There is some reason to believe that our artist was honored with the order of knighthood when he was at the French court of the Anjous at Naples. This has been suggested as a reason for his devoting a whole composition, out of the ten in the chapel, to the ceremony of knighting, which plays no part in the various versions of the legend of the saint - in only one version is St. Martin said to have been a knight. Apparently, the picturesque ceremony as practiced by the French appealed to Simone, for he has represented it here with detailed accuracy. While the young saint prays with uplifted hands, the emperor buckles the sword at his side, a squire fastens on the spurs, two attendants behind the emperor carry other emblems of knighthood - the hood on a staff and a falcon - and two musicians at the right play instruments to accompany the singing of three others who stand behind. The graceful figures have more plasticity than do Duccio's and their heads are of an entirely different type - Gothic, with much variety and the individuality of portraits.

The coloring of these frescoes is much injured, but the effect of the whole chapel interior is still one of the most delightful harmonies in pictorial art. Simone reveled in combinations of gold and silver, rose, green, and gray. In the garments tints change with the varying shadows and high lights of folds, giving the effect of changeable silks more beautiful than one has ever seen in reality.

711

Martini, Simone (c. 1284- 1344)

Equestrian Portrait of Guidoriccio (1328)

Fresco. Figure Life-Size

Siena, Palazzo Pubblico

After a period of thirteen years Simone Martini painted a second great fresco for the Council Hall at Siena. On the wall opposite his representation of Siena's spiritual protector, the Madonna in Majesty, he portrayed the city's physical protector, the hired general, or condottiere, Guidoriccio Ricci dei Fogliani da Reggio. In 1328 Guidoriccio besieged and captured Montemassi for the Sienese. It was evidently to commemorate this event that the fresco was painted, in the same year (the inscription in the middle of the framing reads: ANO DNI MCCCXXVIII).

The setting (little of which is included in our photograph) is spacious and simple, and suggestive everywhere of the warlike character of the condottiere. On a hill at the left rise crenellated towers, presumably those of Montemassi. To the right are the various units of Guidoriccio's siege equipment: on the high hill, a lookout camp; at the foot of the hill, the soldiers' camps; and a little to the left of it, a battifolle, a peculiar towered structure of wood built as a vantage point from which to carry on the siege (part of this building shows in our detail). Over these towers float the banner of Siena and the banner of Guidoriccio; from the wall rises a derrick-like construction, perhaps for hurling missiles. Stretching out from the lower right camp and enclosing the besieged hill is Guidoriccio's chevaux-de-frise, or spiked fence, against which spears, shields, and banners are propped at intervals. Other spears bristle from the camp just glimpsed beyond the hill at the right. Everywhere are signs of preparation for war, but nowhere do we see a man except the condottiere, who rides in solitary grandeur across the vast space. The character of one who commands and is obeyed speaks from every detail: the calm, decisive profile, the firm grasp of the right hand on the upright baton, the confident touch of the left hand on the rein, the tight clutch of the foot on the stirrup, the sharp flapping of the panoplies as the splendid figure is borne forward on his magnificent steed. Most marvelous is the feeling of inevitableness in his advance.

Whatever other merit the picture may have, its paramount excellence, as always with Simone, lies in its design. Line plays an increasingly important rôle in his work. Here the outlines of the hills and towers, of the horse and rider give the key to the pattern. There is also a new feeling of atmosphere in the picture, which makes one forget the symbolical character of country and architecture and which places Simone among the innovators of Italian landscape painting: a gleam from the dawning day touches the equestrian group and some of the towers and banners, sharpening their contrast against the morning darkness of the western sky.

712 a, b, c

Martini, Simone (c. 1284-1344), and Lippo Memmi (?-1357?)

Annunciation, with Sts. Ansanus and Juliet (1333)

Tempera on Wood. H. 5 ft., 11½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

The ethereal, mystic qualities of the art of Siena and its preference for Oriental types of design find their consummate expression in the Annunciation painted for the chapel of S. Ansano in the cathedral at Siena. This painting represents also the culmination of Simone Martini's development of Gothic types and linear pattern. The hurrying, excited flutter of the archangel and the shrinking movement of the Virgin, crude prototypes of which we find in the thirteenth century altarpiece of St. Peter (no. 703), are exaggerated to produce a highly nervous play of outline. These contour lines, against the soft gold background, and the internal lines of the draperies, particularly the gold edging on the Virgin's mantle, have hardly been surpassed in their intriguing expression by the greatest masters of line, the Chinese Buddhist painters. As binding features, to offset the tendency of the Virgin to draw herself out of the picture, Simone has set a crisp, arching spray of lilies in the space between the two figures and has used the unusual device of representing the words of the salutation as issuing from Gabriel's mouth. The lilies serve at the same time to foretell the archangel's second appearance to the Virgin, when he shall come bearing, instead of the olive branch, the stalk of lilies to announce her death.

The coloring of the picture, rich in the gold brocade of Gabriel's drapery, the variegated tints of his wings, the deep blue of the Virgin's mantle, and the brilliant aureole of cherubs in which the Holy Ghost descends, have all the beauty we would expect in a work in tempera by the author of the beautiful frescoed harmonies at Assisi (cf. no. 710).

In the side panels of the triptych are standing figures of Sts. Ansanus and Juliet. The medallions in the four lateral pinnacles of the frame (the frame itself is of more recent date) are decorated with busts of prophets; the middle medallion is missing. The present tendency is to attribute to Simone Martini only the middle panel of the triptych and to give the side panels and the medallions to his brother-in-law, who is named as collaborator in an inscription beneath the middle group: SYMON MARTINI ET LIPPVS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXERVNT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXIII.

The effect of the two saints in the side panels is a little heavier and more ordinary than we would expect from Simone. It is fitting that they should be calm and dignified, with no striking characteristics to detract from the dominance of the middle panel. Yet Simone would surely have given more individuality to the faces and have made a more interesting design of the embroidered edges of the draperies. For all that, they are splendid figures and are closely similar in most respects to the work of Simone. They were painted at a period in Lippo's career when he had come completely under the influence of Simone, as his signed paintings prove. More productions than the Uffizi panels are attributed now to Simone, now to Lippo; for Lippo was not an independent artist; his greatest merit was the ability to mimic Simone's style convincingly.

Martini, Simone (c. 1284-1344)

Christ Bearing the Cross (c. 1340)

Tempera on Canvas Pasted on Wood. H. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Paris, Louvre

Six small panels that have survived from a polyptych, now dismembered and scattered, are apparently the work of Simone's late period, when he was at Avignon (1339-1344). Two of these panels, representing the Annunciation, and a third and fourth, with the Crucifixion and Descent from the Cross, are in the Picture Gallery at Antwerp; one, of the Entombment, is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum; and the one we reproduce, Christ Bearing the Cross, is in the Louvre. In this work Simone seems to have lapsed into Duccio's diffuse manner modified by the influence of the Lorenzetti (cf. nos. 706, 715). This crowded scene, where the figures are much too large for the architecture, lacks the serene, lyric quality of Simone's earlier work. He has attempted to produce a tragic effect by the use of coarse, brutal heads and extravagant gesticulation imitated from the Lorenzetti. The moment represented is that in which Christ, preceded by soldiers and cruel executioners and followed by the Holy Women, disciples, and motley crowd, comes out of the gate of Jerusalem, carrying his heavy cross toward Calvary. For a just appreciation of this picture one must see the original; before that marvel of technical execution, rich and harmonious in coloring, careful and exact in drawing, and enamel-like in surface, one forgets that the artist had been capable of producing work more charming in feeling and more perfect in spatial composition.

This excellence of execution characterizes also a little panel by Simone now in the Fogg Art Museum. The figure of Christ on the cross in that panel is a replica of the Crucified One in the Crucifixion at Antwerp, mentioned above.

Lorenzetti, Pietro (c. 1280-1348?)

Madonna, Annunciation, Assumption, and Saints (1320)

Tempera on Wood

Arezzo, S. Maria della Pieve

Not the least significant of the Oriental characteristics to be found in the work of Simone Martini is its aristocratic exclusiveness. His queenly conception of the Madonna, his richness of coloring and ornament, and his mystic expression of emotion seem intended for the noble born and the few elect to whom it is given to penetrate the mysteries of religion. The two Lorenzetti brothers, on the other hand, seem to have painted for the common people. Less mystery and more sincere religion speak from the faces of their Madonnas and saints. Especially the elder brother, Pietro, seems to have expressed a pious conviction in his religious pictures.

The earliest authentic painting by Pietro that has come down to us is the polyptych now in the Pieve at Arezzo, for which it was painted. An extant contract gives the painter's agreement with Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, as to the size of the picture, the subject matter, the quality of the colors to be used, and the compensation to be paid. This contract was made in April, 1320. The painting was done at Siena, as is indicated in an inscription on the panel: PETRVS LAVRETTII HAC PIXIT DEXTRA SENIS. The predella, with which the altarpiece was originally completed, has disappeared.

When Pietro carried out this work his style was already highly developed. The most original feature is the graceful, dignified, and spiritual Madonna. At her right are St. John the Baptist, traditional, Ducciesque in type, and St. Matthew, with a sculptural impressiveness that must have derived from the Pisan carvers (cf. nos. 633, 634). At her left St. John the Evangelist stands like an ancient orator, and the ascetic St. Donatus, with his crozier, is portrait-like in treatment. The spandrels above the round arches of these

five panels are gracefully filled by the busts and spreading wings of angels. Still higher, above the central panel, is the Annunciation, in an architectural setting which, though simple, is prophetic of the marked advances later made by Pietro in problems of perspective and space. Above the side panels are eight saints in pairs: to the right, Sts. James the Greater, James the Lesser, Marcellinus, and Augustine; to the left, Sts. Luke, Vincent, Paul, and an unidentified saint. In the spandrels of this second course are medallions containing busts of prophets. Finally, there are five terminal panels or pinnacles: in the central, topmost, pinnacle is perhaps the earliest painted representation of the Assumption; in the two at the left are Sts. Catherine and Reparata; in the two at the right, a female saint holding an arrow and St. Agatha. All these saints in the small panels are types taken from Duccio.

715

Lorenzetti, Pietro (c. 1280-1348?)

Crucifixion (c. 1331?)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Siena, S. Francesco

In the Arezzo altarpiece of 1320 (no. 714) Pietro Lorenzetti was still dependent for much upon Duccio. By the time he painted the Siena Crucifixion he had become quite independent, with only an occasional borrowing of type from Simone Martini. But while the latter was helpless in the expression of dramatic action and emotion, just there lay Pietro's greatest power, and no picture shows his accomplishment in this field more clearly than does the Siena Crucifixion. Christ has drawn His last labored breath, and His quiet, drooping body makes the wild grief of the angels seem the more passionate by contrast. They cry out, wring their hands, tear their garments, and fling out their arms in despair. They are borne on small clouds in the otherwise flat, dark background. Below the cross the grief of the Holy Women and St. John is realistically expressed. The group of soldiers and other men at the right is more calm and stately. The newly converted centurion and Longinus, designated by six-sided nimbi, express adoration and thanksgiving rather than grief; for they have not lost a master: they have found one. The youthful, helmeted Longinus is particularly beautiful; his cleancut profile is comparable to that of a fine Greek head.

The removal in recent years of the coat of whitewash which had completely hidden the fresco took with it the coloring, leaving a smooth intonaco on which the shadows are indicated in brown. Also, the lower part of the fresco has been cut off, so that we do not see the groups at the foot of the cross in their original full lengths. After the whitewash had been scraped off, the fresco was transferred from the chapter room of the Franciscan monastery, where it has been painted by Pietro, to a wall of the Bandinelli chapel, in the church.

716

Lorenzetti, Pietro (c. 1280-1348?)

Birth of the Virgin (1342)

Tempera on Wood

Siena, Opera del Duomo

One continually remarks in Sienese painting the production by the same artist of both highly spiritual and realistic types, often placed in juxtaposition, as, for example, in Simone Martini's Knighting of St. Martin (no. 710). The Madonnas of the formal altarpieces are always of the spiritual type; they are rarely so human as in Giotto's Uffizi panel (no. 743). Yet in a narrative composition, like this of the Birth of the Virgin, everything is based on the observation of nature. Here the realism of the setting

is particularly striking. Pietro has come far in his study of the problems of perspective and space begun more than twenty years earlier in the little Annunciation on the Arezzo altarpiece (no. 714). St. Anne, a well-rounded, sculpturesque figure, lies on a bed in a room that has real depth, with wide-spreading groined vaulting. A caller sits beside her on a long, narrow chest, holding an object resembling a fan, and two attendants, carrying food for the mother of the new babe, have entered the room from the right. These three figures are plastic in form, beautifully draped, dignified and imposing, though there is some negligent drawing in details, especially the hands, a frequent weakness in Pietro's work. The motive of the infant's bath, in the foreground, is traditional, as is also the type of child; the maids display the plastic forms of Pietro's mature style.

The middle and right-hand panels of the altarpiece are given up to a single room, with the birth scene. To the left is a second room, in which Joachim has been waiting with his black-bearded friend for the news of the birth, which is now brought by an excited young servant. The eagerness of the group of Joachim and messenger has been aptly compared with that of the prophets and sibyls receiving inspiration from little genii on the Sistine Ceiling (nos. 871,874,875). The genre-like character of the painting, with its realistic drawing of interiors, its richness and harmony of coloring, its well-studied diffusion of light through the rooms, is even suggestive of seventeenth century Dutch painting, while from the room in which Joachim sits we get a view of the angle of a Gothic building (a cathedral?) that, in its charming minutiae, might have been painted by the Van Eycks.

This splendid altarpiece is one of the latest works by Pietro. It is signed and dated below the central panel: PETRVS LAVRENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT A MCCC.XLII. The predella, which it no doubt originally had, has disappeared.

717

Lorenzetti, Pietro (c. 1280-1348?)

St. Catherine: Fragment of an Altarpiece

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 2 3/8 in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

America possesses a beautiful example of the quieter, more stately phase of Pietro Lorenzetti's work in the half-length figure of a Queen-Martyr in the Metropolitan Museum. The panel comes from an unknown altarpiece of polyptych composition similar, probably, to Pietro's early work at Arezzo (cf. no. 714), and the inscription, S. AGNESE, at the top of the panel refers, not to the saint here represented, but to one that originally occupied a compartment just above. The saint on the preserved panel carries a martyr's palm and wears a crown; perhaps she is St. Catherine, though she does not have the wheel and book, usual symbols of that saint. Her grave, thoughtful features and noble bearing accord with the traditional conception of St. Catherine, patroness of wisdom and scholarship.

The coloring of the picture is effective, rich, and harmonious: placed against a background of gold, the saint wears a robe of green and gold, brocaded with a lily pattern and partly covered with a wine-colored mantle. Gold bands, set with jewels at the shoulders, enrich the mantle, and this delicately tooled gold, so dear to Simone Martini, decorates the halo also and the crown. Such pictures as this impress us with the Oriental character of Sienese art. It not only has an Oriental richness; the mystic, introspective meditation of a Bodhisattva breathes from this representation of a Christian saint.

School of Pietro Lorenzetti

Madonna (Between Sts. John the Baptist and Bernardino (c. 1470)

by Matteo di Giovanni) (c. 1430-1495)

Tempera on Wood

Siena, S. Pietro Ovale

The middle panel of the triptych of the Madonna with Sts. John the Baptist and Bernardino is so closely related to the work of Pietro Lorenzetti that critics have commonly ascribed it to this master himself in his early years, when he was still strongly influenced by Duccio. But certain details, the calligraphic treatment of the drapery, the intricate decorative detail, the strongly Ducciesque angel types, the wistful facial expression, and especially the round eyes, so different from the narrow, squinting eyes that we see, for example, in the Arezzo altarpiece (cf. no. 714), seem to indicate a distinct master. They recur in a number of other extant paintings which have recently been studied in conjunction with our panel and have been designated, for lack of more definite information, as works of the "Ovile Master."

This "Ovile Master" is most appealing when he clings closest to Duccio: the faces of the angels, that look with humble adoration at the Mother and Child, are more lovely than the faces of those two. The flat, silhouette-like heads of the angels seem more appropriate to the ultra-mundane subject than do the heavy forms of Mother and Child, that imitate Lorenzettian rotundity. It is Pietro Lorenzetti, too, who has inspired the motive of the Child, Whose animated movement as He plays with a bird on a string contrasts sharply with the static character of the remainder of the composition. The calligraphic treatment of the drapery, especially clear in the Child's dress and the lower edge of the Madonna's mantle, must derive from Simone Martini, as does also the emphasis upon delicate gold ornament that we see in the spandrels of the cusped arch, in the halos, and in the Virgin's crown; the elaborate brocading of the Virgin's dress and of the cloth of honor that the angels hold up behind her also conforms to the tradition established by Simone.

On the analogy of similar Madonna panels attributable to the Ovile Master, we can assume that a small choir of angels originally decorated the spandrels outside the large round arch at the top of the picture. These were probably obliterated when the denticulated gable was attached in the fifteenth century, at the same time that the side panels were added.

These side panels, representing Sts. John the Baptist and Bernardino, are probably the work of Matteo di Giovanni, a second-rate Sienese artist who has left a large number of paintings. Our panels are among Matteo's early works, dating probably shortly before 1470, and one can at least say that they are more satisfactory than the paintings in which he attempted to portray animated action (cf. no. 731).

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Madonna in Majesty (c. 1330)

Tempera on Wood

Massa Marittima, Museum

A recently discovered painting of the early period of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, dated 1319, shows, instead of the usual relationship to the work of his brother, Pietro, a strong Giottesque influence. By the time Ambrogio painted the imposing altarpiece at Massa Marittima, perhaps around 1330, Pietro had attained a position which commanded respect and emulation. The features of the Madonna, with the narrow, slanting eyes strongly marked, are closely similar to those in Pietro's altarpiece at Arezzo (no. 714), from which some of the Massa Marittima saints might almost have been taken bodily. Ambrogio's figures are,

however, less ascetic, less sternly religious, and they are heavier, more plebian in type - the Child is so fat and ungainly that He seems deformed. Finer types are the three Virtues seated on the steps of the throne: Hope, with her tower; Faith, looking longingly at the bust of the Saviour in the shield she carries; and Charity, with her flaming heart and dart. These allegorical figures are portents of Ambrogio's masterpiece in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (cf. no. 723).

The altarpiece has the theme of the great Majestas by Duccio (cf. no. 705) and of that by Simone Martini (cf. no. 709). But the calm serenity of those paintings is lacking in Ambrogio's; in his effort to be naturalistic he has introduced notes of vigorous movement that disturb the quiet environment like rollicking boys in a churchyard. The Virtues gesticulate, the kneeling angels make music and swing their censers wildly, and the standing angels at the top, instead of scattering their flowers gracefully and unobtrusively, pelt the holy mother as if in anger.

The decorative effect of the whole, however, with its rich coloring and profusion of tooled gold, is magnificent, and there are beautiful bits of detail - lovely draperies and here and there a most charming face.

720

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Madonna with Saints and Angels (c. 1335)

Tempera on Wood. H. 19 in.

Siena, Academy

A more charming, if less imposing, representation of the enthroned Madonna adored by saints and angels is this little panel in the Siena Academy. Six angels, appearing out of luminous space, do homage to the holy Mother and Child. They do not so much as touch the throne or scatter flowers upon the divine group; with arms folded, they incline their heads in silent adoration. Below the angels are two female saints, wearing crowns and carrying their symbols: St. Dorothy, with her offering of flowers, and St. Catherine, with her wheel and martyr's palm. Kneeling before the steps of the throne are four holy bishops. The vase of simple flowers (possibly suggested by the vase of lilies in Simone Martini's Annunciation, cf. no. 712) outlined against the steps is more pleasing to the modern eye than is the elaborate allegorical trio of figures on the steps of the Massa Marittima altarpiece (no. 719). Though we are reminded of Giotto by the heavy forms of some of the figures, especially that of St. Dorothy, the dominant impression of the picture derives, no doubt partly through Pietro Lorenzetti, from Duccio: it is ethereal, celestial. This effect is attained partly by the luminous quality of the picture, especially in the upper part, where much gold is used; partly by the hypnotic grace of the flowing lines; partly by the facial expressions, serene and meditative, even in the case of the bishops' heads, which are treated with a good deal of realism.

721

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Vow of St. Louis (1331)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Siena, S. Francesco

Ambrogio Lorenzetti is more famous for his work in fresco than for his panel paintings. The earliest of these frescoes were painted for the same Franciscan chapter house at Siena for which Pietro painted his Crucifixion (no. 715). Like the Crucifixion, Ambrogio's decorations there have been freed, as far as possible, from their coating of whitewash and have been removed from their original setting to a chapel in the church of S. Francesco. Only two large compositions and a possible fragment of a third (this fragment is now

in the National Gallery, London) remain from Ambrogio's chapter house decorations. The two large compositions, which the Renaissance sculptor Ghiberti describes with enthusiasm, glorify St. Louis of Anjou, and Friar Peter of Siena in his martyrdom with three companions at Tana. The martyrdom itself is represented, with all its brutal and gruesome details. More pleasing is the representation of St. Louis taking the vow of a monk. This scene is laid in a richly designed, well-drawn Gothic chapel. The saint, distinguished by a nimbus, heads the file of kneeling candidates who approach the throne of Pope Boniface VIII. Still on his knees, he has ascended the steps of the throne, and, humbly bowing his head, he extends his hands for the pope to clasp. On either side of the kneeling novices is a row of seated cardinals. In the row facing us is King Robert, brother of St. Louis. He leans forward, earnestly interested in the ceremony which is to take his brother away from him for consecration to religion. Probably it was the devout King Robert himself who gave the commission for the fresco. Behind him is a crowd of secular spectators, who may belong to the royal retinue.

In spite of the mutilation of the fresco, which has left it colorless and flat, the work remains a masterpiece of narration and character study. Too often the artistic discrimination of the Lorenzetti was subordinate to their interest in story-telling and realistic expression. Here a happy medium has been attained. The beautifully designed figure of the saint, so sincerely humble and devout, dominates the picture in spite of the many interesting details. Those details are remarkably varied: the intentness of the king contrasts sharply with the indifference of the cardinals; the curious, gossiping bystanders differ among themselves in attention and interest; the realistic delineation of the faces makes a distinct personality of each number of the assemblage. Though far less of a show piece, this fresco stands on a higher artistic plane than does the great allegory of Good and Bad Government in the Palazzo Pubblico (no. 723).

722

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Boy Revived by St. Nicholas and Miracle of the Grain Ship (1332)

Tempera on Wood. H. of each, c. 20 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Ambrogio Lorenzetti's ability as a story-teller is well illustrated in four small panels in the Uffizi, evidently from the predella of some large picture. It has been thought that they were originally associated with the altarpiece of 1332 from S. Procolo in Florence. At least, their style is of that period. On all the panels are scenes from the life of St. Nicholas. One shows the popular episode of the saint throwing gold balls into a poor man's bedroom window as a dowry for the man's three daughters. The second shows St. Nicholas' consecration as bishop in the cathedral of Myra. The third and fourth are reproduced in our photograph. In one of these we see the devil, in the guise of a pilgrim, ascending the steps of a Sienese palace, from the upper chamber of which he lures a boy. In the court below the devil attacks the boy. Inside the lower chamber the stricken child lies on a bed mourned by his family, when suddenly he is touched by the healing rays emitted from an apparition of St. Nicholas outside the window and he rises from his bed with a gesture of gratitude directed toward the saint. The story is clearly and simply told and makes a strong impression of reality in spite of the fact that the artist has not hesitated to resort to artificial conventions, such as the repetition of the devil and of the boy. The house is well drawn and gives a good idea of private Sienese dwellings of the period. The second of our panels tells of a miracle which St. Nicholas performed in Myra (capital of Lycia), where he had been consecrated as bishop. Lycia was suffering from famine. Seeing some ships passing on their way to Constantinople laden with grain, St. Nicholas asked the owners to give him a hundred bushels from each ship, assuring them they would suffer no loss thereby. So we see small boats being loaded with grain from the ships while angels replenish the ships from sacks of grain that they carry in their arms. Meanwhile the saint stands on the shore with a group of followers who look anything but starved. The figures are remarkably individualized, and the action, such as that of the two rowers in the little boat at the lower right, is excellently rendered. The gaily

trimmed ships are very decorative; especially picturesque is the outline of dark sails against the light horizon.

723 a, b

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Allegory of Good Government: Details from Good and Bad Government (1337-1339)

Fresco

Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala della Pace

In a room near the one decorated with Simone Martini's great paintings of Siena's heavenly queen (no. 709) and earthly hero (no. 711) is Ambrogio's representation of Siena's government. The frescoes that cover three walls of the Sala de' Nove, or della Pace, constitute Ambrogio's masterpiece. The allegorical conception of good and bad government was not original with him. It was already familiar both in literature and in art. Giotto must have furnished much inspiration for this panorama. His fresco in the palace of the Podestà, could we see it instead of having to depend wholly upon Vasari's description, would no doubt give us the models of many of Ambrogio's details. Certainly the types of some of the figures in the Sala della Pace are Giottesque, though others seem to be directly classical in origin.

On the principal wall of the room is the allegory of Good Government. The left end of this wall is dominated by a beautiful figure of Justice (her symbolical character indicated by the partially obliterated inscription, DILIGITE JVSTITIAM QVI JVDICATIS TERRAM), closely similar, as far as the figure alone is concerned, to Giotto's representation of Justice in the Arena chapel; but here Sienese subtlety has quite transformed Giotto's simple personification. Justice, seated on a large throne and robed in purple and gold, looks upward for inspiration to a floating half-length figure of Wisdom, SAPIENTIA, who carries in one hand a book and in the other a pair of scales, the balances of which rest on the head of Justice. The scale pans are evenly balanced, indicative of impartiality; from the left pan an angel (DISTRIBUTIVA - distributive justice) reaches out to decapitate a fettered culprit and crown a kneeling worthy; from the right pan a similar angel (COMMUTATIVA - commutative justice) reaches out to give a sword and lance to a noble and money to a deserving citizen. The dispensation of Justice results in concord, personified by a female figure of gentle mien enthroned beneath Justice. Her designation (CONCORDIA) is inscribed on a plane that she holds on her lap. In her left hand she grasps two cords that depend from the waists of the angels in the scale pans. These cords she passes to a nearby man, who passes them in turn to his neighbors, and so, through the chosen twenty-four who are responsible for the just regulation of the government of Siena, the cords reach to the colossal Giottesque personification of the commune of Siena, to whose scepter they are tied. This splendid figure is clothed in a robe of black and white, the combination used on the shield of the commune of Siena; a jeweled gold border enlivens the effect. About his head is the inscription (distorted by restoration): C.S.C.V., initials which may be completed, "Commune Senarum Civitatis Virginis." In his left hand he holds a seal, on which appear the Virgin and Child between two kneeling angels and the same prayer that is inscribed in the frame of Simone's Majestas (no. 709): SALVET VIRGO SENAM VETEREM QVAM SIGNAT AMENAM, indicating the Virgin's patronage of Siena. Above the Commune are the three cardinal Virtues, Faith, with a cross; Charity, with a dart and burning heart; and Hope, looking steadfastly upward toward the vision of Christ's head. On the bench extending from the throne at the right are seated three other Virtues, Magnanimity, with crown and money; Temperance, with an hourglass; and Justice, with sword hilt on a severed head and with a crown in her other hand. At the left are Prudence, pointing toward a platter of flames bearing the inscription, PRETERITVM, PRESENS, FVTVRVM; Fortitude, with scepter and shield; and Peace, with an olive branch in her hand, half reclining on the couch-like termination of the long bench. It is this last beautiful, classical figure that has given the popular name to the room, Sala della Pace. Beneath the throne of the Commune is the emblem of the city of Siena, the she-wolf suckling the twins Romulus and Remus, an emblem borrowed from Rome. Guards flank the throne below on either side; at the right they are bringing bound prisoners of war. At the bottom of the fresco is Ambrogio's signature: AMBROSIVS LAVRENTII DE SENIS HIC PINXIT VTRINQVE.

One needs a knowledge of the allegory, which is, however, simple and obvious enough, to enjoy this great picture. As a whole, it has little more compositional value than some of the decorations in the Spanish Chapel at Florence (cf. nos. 758-760). But in detail it is deserving of the fame it has enjoyed through the centuries. Aside from the beauty of color and form in the details, there is a great variety of interest in the ideal types of allegorical figures and the realistic types of soldiers, captives, and citizens - the council of twenty-four is represented by actual portraits.

In the decorations of the side walls (twice the length of the end walls) of the Sala della Pace Ambrogio indulged his native propensities. Like his brother, Pietro, he was by preference a narrative painter. Part of the left-hand wall is, like the end wall just described, devoted to allegory, this time the allegory of bad government, and part is devoted to the effects of bad government. The right-hand wall is a comprehensive panorama of the peace and prosperity of town and country life that are enjoyed under the good government of Siena (no. 723 a). And except in one small detail there is nothing allegorical in the fresco. The graceful floating figure of SECVRITAS (not visible in our photograph) forms a connecting link between the allegorical conception on the end wall and the naturalistic conception on this side wall. Security carries in one hand a gallows with its victim and in the other a scroll inscribed with a glorification of the effects of good government. Below, in the left half of the fresco, we are shown the activities of a prosperous, peaceful, fourteenth century town. In the foreground is the main street, with side streets opening off from it, through which we have glimpses of the activities on streets that run parallel to the wide one in the foreground (if one can speak of parallel streets in a mediaeval town like Siena). Houses and public buildings are represented in great detail. Crowded closely together within the city walls and sawing the whole sky line with their crenellated towers, they express their hostility to people outside the city's protection; while with their gay, open loggias and broad, unprotected doorways that express the intimacy and trust within the community itself. At the extreme left of the main street a lady with her retinue is riding away on a white horse, while some women standing in a doorway admire her grandeur. Through the broad arches in the ground stories of the buildings we see here a tailor making and selling garments, there a schoolmaster instructing an attentive class, at another place a merchant displaying his wares. A countryman, leading his ass, approaches the tailor's shop and makes a purchase; others bring their asses laden with produce from their farms. A woman near the right wall of the town, returning from market with her basket poised on her head, is followed by one who carries a chicken in her arms. Carpenters are busy on the roof of a building in the distance, and in the foreground a group of graceful girls dance under the outstretched arms of two of their number to the sound of the tambourine and soft voice of a third. This group is sometimes looked upon as an unnatural interpolation in the scene, as an allegorical symbol of the care-free happiness of the citizens of this peaceful city. But it is in perfect harmony with the many other expressions of intimacy and familiarity in the picture.

In the right half of the fresco (not visible in our photograph) outside the city wall, we get a kind of bird's-eye view of the country surrounding Siena. Though panoramic in character, it has much of the feeling of nature, especially the kind of nature one sees around Siena, where the land is divided into small cultivated plots, and vineyards and olive groves climb over the low hills, and the more distant peaks are crowned by villages or castles. Along the road leading to the city gate workers and pleasure seekers go to and fro. Just emerging from the gate is a party on horseback, with hawk and dogs, starting off for the chase. A swineherd driving a pig to market is having some difficulty in steering his well-fed animal past the hunting party. Some are returning from market, others are on their way to it with their loaded pack animals. Beside the road archers are hunting; in the distance are other hunters; and in the middle distance peasants are engaged in various farm activities. In all this detailed description of nature and of country activities one is reminded of Pieter Breughel (cf. no. 544) and other Northern artists.

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio (End of Thirteenth Century - 1348?)

Annunciation (1344)

Tempera on Wood. H. 4 ft., 3 in.

Siena, Academy

The tendency toward heaviness that one notes in the earlier paintings by Ambrogio is carried to its extreme in his latest authentic work, the Annunciation, painted for the Sala dei Donzelli of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena and now in the Academy. Here, at the end of his activity, Ambrogio is more like Giotto than he was at the beginning (cf. p. 12), though the relationship is now probably less conscious. After experimenting with elaboration of detail, intricacy of allegory, excess of movement, Ambrogio learned in the end what Giotto realized all through his career, that majestic effect is best attained by simple means.

Through a pair of cusped arches too low to admit an erect figure, we look into a small room devoid of furniture save for the Virgin's simple chair, and with its depth indicated only by the converging lines of the tiled floor. The heavy forms of Gabriel and Mary, imposing and majestic in their broad, ample draperies, are simply treated; ornament is introduced only in the jeweled gold bands that edge their robes. Very simple, too, is the delivery of the message of Annunciation. The angel has come into the room quietly and has knelt before the Virgin, who is not startled at his coming, for her mind has been prepared for heavenly visions by study of the prayer book that lies open on her lap. Perhaps she has been praying that she may be the humble handmaid of whom the scriptures prophesied; and now she leans forward eagerly to receive the angel's message, while the Holy Ghost descends upon her in the form of a dove sent down by God the Father, Who appears as a little bust in the spandrel between the two arches above.

The gesture of Gabriel's right hand, with thumb pointing sharply backward, was probably borrowed from Pietro Lorenzetti's beautiful Madonna painted some years earlier at Assisi. Ambrogio must have known Simone Martini's Annunciation, too (no. 712), but one would hardly guess it from a study of the paintings. The differences between the two versions of the subject are representative of the differences between the two masters. Simone, thoroughly Sienese, emphasized line and the decorative significance of the figure, leaving his forms as thin as paper; Ambrogio, attracted by Florentine tactile problems, emphasized subjective significance and the importance of the figure as representation, making his forms round and bulky, with the third dimension clearly indicated. Further, Simone's art is aristocratic: his figures are royal in bearing, refined in form; Ambrogio's art is democratic: his figures are simple and familiar in attitude, almost coarse in form.

725 a, b, c

School of the Lorenzetti

Triumph of Death (c. 1375)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Pisa, Campo Santo

A fresco in which allegory and realism are even more intimately combined than in the decorations of the Sala della Pace at Siena is to be seen on one of the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa. The subject of the fresco is the allegory of life and death. In spite of the mediaeval treatment of the theme, even the modern visitor coming into this burial ground, his mind prepared to think of death, is startled by this realistic sermon.

In the left foreground a gay cavalcade is returning from the hunt. A king, a queen, and an emperor are among the brilliant party. Like the hunters in the Siena fresco (no. 723), they are shown in the costumes and with all the accessory equipment of contemporary life. Suddenly the horses start back, snort, and paw the air as they come unexpectedly upon three open coffins.

The riders are affected by the scene according to their respective personalities: the king, whose sensory organs are of primary consideration, holds his nose to avoid the disgusting odor; the queen, of more thoughtful disposition, is made to meditate upon the certainty of death; the hard, crude noble next to her, showing no respect for her state of mind, points boldly at the bodies with some profane remark to her; a fourth person, carrying a dog, has suffered an aesthetic shock. Other members of the party are curious or as yet uninterested; fright is naturally the chief reaction of the servants, who come on foot with the dogs and game. The corpses are in various stages of decomposition. One is already a skeleton; the second is the half decomposed body of a prince, his crown the only mark of his earthly glory, and a snake, darting away at the approach of the party, the obvious indication of the utter debasement of the body after death; the third is the newly deposited body of a grand lord. To point the moral more strongly, but also to suggest a solution of the problem of death, the painter has placed in front of the sumptuous hunting party the somber figure of a hermit holding a long scroll with an inscription concerning the imminence of death. It is St. Macarius, who has come down the rocky path from the hermitage above, where hermits read, go about their simple tasks, commune with nature, and look down upon the scenes of death with perfect equanimity: the advantage of the contemplative life over the active life in dealing with the fundamental problems of life and death is clearly presented in the contrast between these calm hermits and the horrified nobles.

Corresponding to the cavalcade at the left side of the fresco is the group in a garden at the right. Frivolous ladies and gentlemen while away their time in a pleasant garden with polite conversation, flattery, and sensuous music. Cupids floating overhead indicate the amorous interests of the group, whose constant attunement to the gentle breezes of pleasant places, the strains of sweet music, and the soft voices of lovers makes them oblivious to the sounds of the approach of death, who comes with the rush and inevitableness of a tornado to mow them down in their heyday of life. Death is conceived as a horrible hag with claws, bat-like wings, and streaming gray hair. Princes, nobles, popes, monks, nuns lie dead in her wake, while angels and devils contend for their souls. Even the final punishment is not left to our imagination: on the rocky eminence above the hermitage, the devils (which follow the form of the old Etruscan types) are thrusting their victims into the flaming mouths of hell.

In the middle foreground of the picture are those whom death refuses to take: beggars and cripples stretch out imploring hands toward death, "Since prosperity has forsake us, O death, healer of all pain, ah come and give unto us the supreme feast." But death is too busy with those who enjoy life to heed the entreaty of those who suffer.

Scrolls of commentary on the pictorial representation are not only introduced into the main body of the picture but are displayed by angels and Old Testament figures in the medallions of the borders that complete the fresco at top and bottom like the borders of a tapestry. There were originally twelve rhymed commentaries in the picture, three within the composition itself and nine on scrolls held by angels in the lower border. Some of these inscriptions have disappeared wholly or in part from their scrolls, but, fortunately, a quattrociento manuscript has preserved them for us. They are entertaining and much to the point in explaining the meaning of the pictorial allegory. It is worth while to quote a few here. That on the cartel held by angels in the center of the picture may be translated:

"Neither understanding, nor riches, nor nobility, nor yet prowess can ward off her (death's) stroke; and, again, there is no argument that will hold against her, O reader. Therefore, keep alert, that you may always be prepared so that she will not catch you in mortal sin."

The supplication on the scroll held by the beggars was quoted above; and on the sickle carried by death the rhyme of supplication was once completed by death's response:

"I am not particular, except to destroy life. But he who calls me is in most cases disgusting; and I very often hit upon him who turns his back on me."

The hermit's scroll is full of good advice:

"If you will give your full attention, and fix your gaze on what is here, you will see your vanity subdued and your haughtiness banished. For you too

will yet become like these! Therefore, observe the law that is prescribed for you."

A scroll held by one of the angels in the border refers to the vain woman in the group in the garden at the right:

"Vain woman, why do you care to go so painted and adorned? Is it because you take more pleasure in the world than in God? But stop! What judgment do you await, if your stubborn heart does not turn to frequent confession, yea, of every sin!

And another refers to the same group:

"O soul, why, why will you not reflect that death will strip you of that garment in which you take such corporeal delight and through the five senses of which you will have eternal torment if here you abandon yourself to it in mortal delight?"

A contrasting sentiment is expressed in the lines referring to the quiet life of the anchorites in the background:

"Quiet, holy, and pure solitude, how sweet you are to those who know you! Free from anxiety about the flesh and the devil, they are the more meritorious the more they bury themselves, away from worldly sorrow."

The authorship of the fresco has been much disputed. Vasari started the confusion by his attribution of the work and some other decorations in the Campo Santo to Orcagna. But the types of figures are very different from Orcagna's (cf. nos. 755, 756). The rotundity of forms can be explained by such influence of Giotto as we find in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's work. The ascription of the fresco to the Lorenzetti school cannot be far wrong. The style of the work throughout is comparable to that of the frescoes of Good and Bad Government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (no. 723). The landscape is not so much emphasized nor so naturalistic as in the Siena frescoes, but in blunt realism of figure types the master of the Pisan fresco has outdone Ambrogio: as the landscape in the Effects of Good Government reminds us of Pieter Breughel, so some of the figures, particularly the group of unfortunates in the middle foreground, of the Triumph of Death remind us of the same realistic master (cf. no. 545).

726

Bartolo di Fredi (c. 1330-c. 1407)

Adoration of the Magi (c. 1380)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 10½ in.

Siena, Academy

The minor master Bartolo di Fredi bears some similarities to the Lorenzetti, particularly to Pietro in intensity of expression. But he is far less gifted than either of those brothers, and it is only his Gothic conventionalities and his richness of decorative detail that make us willing to overlook the hard contours, incorrect foreshortening, poor articulation, distorted proportions, and ugly features of his figures. This richness of detail, resulting largely from the prodigal use of gold, is a characteristic trait of the Sienese school, and Bartolo di Fredi is chiefly significant in the history of Italian art for his transmission of this practice to other schools, to Gentile da Fabriano in the Umbrian school, and through Gentile to Jacopo Bellini in the Venetian school.

There is no documentary proof that Gentile da Fabriano visited Siena, but Sienese influence in his work is never doubted. His famous Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi (no. 762) seems like a glorified memory of this panel by Bartolo. Here the Madonna faces left instead of right, but the general arrangement of the composition is closely similar in the two paintings; even the Journey of the Magi in the background appears in both in great detail.

The perspective of the picture is so poor that the Madonna seems half under, half outside, her little canopy; Joseph is so placed that he might

almost be taken for one of the Magi or one of their attendants; and those attendants and the spirited steeds seem to be tramping on the heels of the kneeling kings. In the background, beyond the strangely conventionalized mountains, two towns are depicted. That at the left is Siena, with her cathedral of black and white marble clearly visible (cf. no. 608).

Still very mannered, but a little less wooden in figure types is the polyptych by Bartolo di Fredi in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Death and Assumption of the Virgin occupy the main panel of this altarpiece.

727

Sassetta (1392-1450)

Birth of the Virgin, Madonna Enthroned, and Her Death and Funeral (c. 1428)

Tempera on Wood

Asciano, Collegiata

Stefano di Giovanni, nicknamed Sassetta, is one of the few Sienese painters of the fifteenth century who rose above mediocrity. It is only in recent years that his importance has been appreciated. Though traditional and eclectic in many respects, basing his art particularly upon the style of Simone Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti (partly through intermediary artists like Bartolo di Fredi), Sassetta added a grace and a spiritual quality that places some of his paintings among the most highly prized works of his period.

The earliest painting that can be attributed to Sassetta is the triptych of the Birth of the Virgin in the collegiate church at Asciano. The composition is based on Pietro Lorenzetti's painting of the same subject in Siena (no. 716). Like Lorenzetti, Sassetta has made the three divisions of his picture conform to architectural divisions of the setting of the scene: the picture frame forms the front termination of the rooms in which the activities attendant upon the birth of Mary are taking place. In these scenes the genre element is even more emphasized by Sassetta than by Pietro. At the right a servant attends to the needs of St. Ann, pouring water into a basin which St. Ann tests with her fingers, while a visitor sits quietly waiting on the bedside chest. St. Ann is about to wash her hands preparatory to eating the food which is being brought by a richly clad woman who approaches the door in the middle of the picture. In the middle foreground, before a crackling grate fire, the newborn baby is being bathed and dressed. In the left division Joachim is discussing the news of the birth with a friend, while a child, who is probably the bearer of the announcement to Joachim, listens respectfully to the talk of the old men. In the pinnacles of the frame are the death and the funeral procession of the Virgin on either side of the ceremonial representation of her enthroned with the Child between angels.

No one takes offense at the abundance of detail and the elaboration of narrative in this picture. It is not crowded, there is plenty of space - even the space of out-of-doors is added in our view of the large courtyard and the sky beyond. A sense of intimacy pervades the already well-established elements of Sienese art, decoration, and narration. Others have used these elements to impress; still others, to give a realistic portrayal; Sassetta has used them to bring us into the spirit of the event represented. From the intimate effect of this picture it is an easy transition to the spiritual, mystic effect of the Franciscan legend (no. 728).

728

Sassetta (1392-1450)

Marriage of St. Francis (Finished in 1444)

Tempera on Wood. H. 3 ft., 1½ in.

Chantilly, Musée Condé

Poverty, chastity, and obedience were the three cardinal virtues of the

Franciscan order, and the chief of these, especially in the eyes of St. Francis himself, was poverty. To give up all is to be free, and the gentle saint of Assisi never wavered in his devotion to this ideal, to what he styled as his "Lady Poverty." Franciscan legend is rich in events motivated by this devotion. Shortly before he died St. Francis, with a brother monk, was on his way from Rieti to Siena when he was encountered by three plainly clad maidens, who saluted him with the words, "Welcome, Lady Poverty," and immediately disappeared. "The brethren," writes St. Bonaventure, "not irrationally concluded that this apparition imported some mystery pertaining to St. Francis, and that by the three poor maidens were signified chastity, obedience, and poverty, the beauty and sum of evangelical perfection, all of which shone with equal and consummate luster in the man of God, though he made his chief glory the privilege of poverty." The story reflects the combined romance and mysticism of mediaeval chivalry. The maidens salute the knight with the name of his lady love and disappear.

Sassetta, to make this charming legend more suitable for the subject of a picture, to give it a tangible feature, combines with it the story of the marriage of the saint with poverty. So in the beautiful panel at Chantilly we see this meeting on the road to Siena, but before the three maidens disappear after the salutation St. Francis leans forward eagerly and places the wedding ring on the finger of Poverty, while the brother monk and Chastity and Obedience stand as witnesses of the ceremony. Then as the three figures disappear into the sky, Poverty looks back over her shoulder with tender yearning toward her bridegroom.

Sassetta has not lost his love of detail that we saw in the Asciano altarpiece (no. 727), but here he has subordinated it to such an extent that simplicity and directness are the most striking characteristics of his manner. The halos are of richly tooled gold and the fields, trees, buildings, and hills of the distant landscape are carefully indicated. All the characteristics of the quiet, dreamy Umbrian region are here. There are even particularized details: in the right foreground is the entrance to St. Francis' little chapel, the Portiuncula, near Assisi; outlined against the horizon is Mt. Subasio, with Assisi on one side. But everything is completely subordinated to the tall, flower-like female figures and the impetuous, eager form of St. Francis. Rarely has pure spiritual energy, divorced from earthly encumbrance, been more forcefully expressed than in Sassetta's representation of this saint. Line and the intense expression of the eyes are the means used by Sassetta for obtaining this effect. The sharp, clear-cut, angular contours of the figure of St. Francis, contrasting with the suave, flowing lines of the female figures, are as effective as the calligraphic lines of the Virgin's drapery in Simone's Annunciation (no. 712).

The Chantilly picture is one of eight scenes from the back of a dismembered triptych that Sassetta painted for the Franciscans of Borgo S. Sepolcro. The contract is dated 1437 and the date of completion, mentioned along with the artist's signature in the inscription that was once to be seen on the front of the triptych, is 1444.

729

Sassetta (1392-1450)

Temptation of St. Anthony (c. 1440?)

Tempera on Wood. H. 14½ in.

New Haven, Conn., Jarvis Collection

With the delightful little panel in the Jarvis collection we come again to a less mystic, more narrative composition, comparable to the Asciano triptych (no. 727) in intent, but very different in method of achievement. Elaboration of detail characterized the early panel. Here the story is told with the simplicity of Giotto. St. Anthony, coming down the stony path to his little hermitage, is surprised by the appearance of a woman, innocent looking enough from the front, but with small, bat-like wings that warn the saint of danger. The story is perfectly clear. Sassetta did not need the Northerner's host of human and monstrous figures crowding the air and earth (cf. no. 523) to make us understand that the saint is being tempted. One figure is enough; the rest of the space can be filled with a quiet, peaceful landscape in which we

feel the habitual solitude of the saint and the consequent intensity of the temptation presented by the appearance of a possible human companion. This solitary landscape is hemmed in by a row of trees that reaches across the horizon in the arc of a circle, emphasizing the saint's separation from the rest of the world.

The Jarvis panel, which probably comes from some altarpiece predella where other scenes from the life of St. Anthony were represented, belongs to Sassetta's maturity and represents him at his best. The forms are drawn with precision, and the colors are clear and luminous. The bit of visible sky is filled with the golden glow of sunset, against which birds are circling. The red hermitage, dark gray robes of the hermit, and pink gown of the temptress contrast with the pale gray of the hills. Sassetta clung to the old tempera technique, realizing its full possibilities in this little panel of enamel-like finish.

730

Giovanni di Paolo (1403-1482)

Paradise (c. 1445)

Tempera on Wood Transferred to Canvas. H. 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Though decidedly of second-rate ability, Giovanni di Paolo shares the present-day popularity of the "primitives." There is pleasure in the feeling of superiority with which we look at the naïve creations of this cheerful painter; we smile at the unreality of his fairyland; it affords us a kind of refuge from our own artificial, sophisticated environment.

Giovanni di Paolo was extremely prolific. He did not care too much about the accuracy of his drawing, and as a rule he troubled himself not at all with problems of composition. Working nearly always on a very small scale, he was able to turn out a great number of paintings, so that even in America there are many examples of his work. One of the most entertaining of them all is the little Paradise in the Metropolitan Museum. It is incomplete at the right, probably being a section of a Last Judgment that formed a predella for a large painting. On a pleasant hillside souls newly arrived in paradise are being greeted by loved ones and led by angels toward the right, where golden rays probably indicate their approach to the enthroned Christ. Pope, bishop, hermit, monks, nuns, grand ladies, and elegant knights have been admitted to paradise, less for their merits, probably, than for their variety of picturesque costumes. The rich blues, reds, yellows, and greens give a beautiful tapestry-like spotting of design that has scarcely more to draw it together than the row of orange trees on the horizon. This device recalls the hedge that marks the horizon in the Temptation of St. Anthony by Sassetta (no. 729), whose influence is otherwise prominent in this and other early paintings by our artist. Perhaps it is only the contemporary styles of costume and hairdress that tempt us to see a connection between Giovanni di Paolo and Pisanello (cf. nos. 885, 886); but it is interesting that we find in the works of the two the same contrast between loosely drawn, insecurely posed human figures and accurately rendered animal and vegetable forms. The graceful roe, furtive rabbits, and luxuriant plants and flowers in our Paradise show remarkably close observation of nature.

How much more attractive our artist was as a painter of small, simple panels than when he attempted large, monumental compositions is shown by a comparison of the Paradise with the large panel of two saints that hangs nearby in the Metropolitan Museum.

Matteo di Giovanni (c. 1430-1495)

Massacre of the Innocents (1482)

Tempera on Wood. H. c. 5 ft.

Siena, S. Agostino

In the second half of the fifteenth century, when Florentine artists were making great strides in the solution of technical problems of painting, the Sienese were piling up details derived from their own earlier masters and uniting them with a smattering of the scientific knowledge picked up from Florentines. Matteo di Giovanni, a native of Borgo S. Sepolcro, was a tolerable craftsman when he contented himself with quiet subjects such as enthroned saints. But he had studied in his native town with Piero della Francesca, who inspired him with a desire for realism. Without his master's knowledge and restraint, Matteo conceived of realism as synonymous with wild physical movement and exaggerated facial expression. His favorite subject was the Massacre of the Innocents. Our large panel in S. Agostino, Siena, is the best of his paintings of that theme. A most confused mass of figures fill the foreground, and the artist has tried, by showing numerous heads and hands, to suggest that the crowd extends far into the background; but his knowledge of perspective has been inadequate. The architecture does not run back properly; Herod is larger than the figures nearer us, and the children looking through the arches at the back of the picture are the same size as those in front. The movement, in which lay Matteo's prime interest, is not at all convincing. The action of the individual figures is not related to their surroundings. The principal figures in the foreground are represented as running at full speed, though it would be almost impossible for them to move at all in the congested mass. Some of the figures looked at alone are interesting, but their merits are stolen from greater masters. A figure of Hercules by Pollaiuolo (cf. no. 791) would seem, for example, to have inspired the wild soldier in the middle foreground. As a whole, the picture does have some decorative value. The abundance of gold and rich colors forms an attractive design that should be enjoyed as a tapestry, as ornament rather than as representation.

Because of this decorative quality Matteo di Giovanni appears most satisfactory as a furniture painter. The cassone panel in the Metropolitan Museum representing the Legend of Cloelia, and companion pieces in the Johnson and Woodward collections with the story of Camilla are entertaining examples of his work.

Domenico di Bartolo (c. 1400-1449?)

Clothing the Naked: Scene from the Seven Acts of Mercy (1440-1443)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Siena, Scala Hospital

The tendency of fifteenth century Sienese artists toward exaggeration of the details of decoration and narration, the two phases of painting developed by their predecessors, is exemplified in Domenico di Bartolo, as is also the consequent degeneration of the school. We can study this minor artist best in the still extant, though damaged, series of frescoes in the hospital of S. Maria della Scala at Siena. The hospital was built as a sort of poorhouse in the eleventh century. Later it was used also as a lodging for travelers. It is in the pilgrims' room, or Pellegrinaio, that Domenico's frescoes are to be seen. They include the Caring for the Sick, Alms-Giving, the Building of the Annexes, and other scenes connected with the hospital. Our photograph reproduces the subject of alms-giving, in which Clothing the Naked is given chief emphasis. To the right we see also the distribution of bread, or Feeding the Hungry.

The picture has little to recommend it. The story is told in a commonplace manner, with many figures, but arranged in groups that show only slight relationship to each other. The nude man that is made the focus of the compo-

sition is borrowed from some baptismal scene, which probably explains why he seems not to be putting on his shirt but to be drawing it off, a motive common in scenes of the Baptism at this time (cf. Masolino, no. 765). The detailed representation of architecture is of interest because it is an accurate portrayal of the Scala hospital as it appeared in the fifteenth century and very much as it appears to-day, for it has suffered little change.

733

Benvenuto di Giovanni (1436-1517)

Assumption (1498)

Tempera on Wood. H. 9 ft., 8 1/8 in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Granting all the disadvantages of Siena in the fifteenth century, the retarded development of her artists is nevertheless puzzling. At the very end of the century, when Florentine artists had worked out numerous anatomical, perspective, atmospheric, and psychological problems, Benvenuto di Giovanni painted an Assumption that merely reiterates, in even more conventional forms, the mystic, dreamy expression that other Sienese artists had painted more than a century earlier. To be sure, Benvenuto clothes his figures in more voluminous drapery and apparently tries to represent movement by crinkling draperies and contorted bodies. But the effect is thoroughly static; there is no suggestion that the folds of St. Thomas' drapery will ever fall differently or that the angels' feet will ever change their awkward silhouettes against the sky. Distorted proportions are particularly noticeable in the case of these flying angels: it is hard to believe that the feet belong to the same bodies as do the heads. The long arms of God the Father at the top of the picture are quite as absurd anatomically. The groups of gesticulating saints and prophets at left and right above the Virgin and the group of St. Thomas receiving the Virgin's girdle and Sts. Francis and Anthony beside her tomb are, along with the detailed landscape, full of confusion and distraction.

But the large figure of the Virgin, calm and majestic, so dominates the picture that the effect as a whole is fine. Unnatural proportions do not matter, the confusion of gesticulating, grimacing figures becomes a kind of arabesque. With our attention focused on this white-clad Bodhisattva-like figure in the center, the large panel becomes an effective piece of decoration.

734

Francesco di Giorgio (1439-1502)

Nativity (Lunette by Matteo da Siena (?); Predella by Fungai)

Oil on Wood

Siena, S. Domenico

Francesco di Giorgio abandoned painting too soon to attain first rank in the art. In 1475 he left the atelier of his master Neroccio and at the same time practically ceased to work in either painting or sculpture, devoting most of his time to architecture, in which he made his reputation.

Even in his paintings architecture usually plays a prominent part. In the background of our Nativity, which is now generally attributed to Francesco, is a carefully drawn Roman arch. It is intended to suggest the ruined shelter in which Christ was born - there we see the traditional ox and ass - but it gives, rather, the effect of an architect's drawing arranged to show the cross section as well as the front elevation of the arch; the point of sight is taken much too near, and orthographic reconstruction shows that the arch is three times too deep in plan. Francesco has tried to enliven the time-worn theme of the Nativity by placing the figures in nervous, animated poses. The shepherds rushing in from the right are breathless with excitement. The angels at the left dance lightly with arms intertwined. Even Joseph raises his hand in an

affected gesture of surprise. Francesco's interpretation of the theme, as in all his paintings, is unusual and fanciful, reminding one of Botticelli's art. He has delighted, for example, in the somewhat weird contrast between the blond forms of the angels and the bronzed flesh of the pendant shepherds. The nervous gesticulations and the agitated draperies are still more reminiscent of Pollaiuolo (cf. nos. 790-792).

Such works as this mark the end of distinctly Sienese painting. It has become invaded by the traits of other schools and depends for future development upon the stronger masters of other schools. Thus, the only significant Sienese painter of the sixteenth century, Sodoma, was Lombard both by birth and by training (cf. no. 735).

735

Sodoma (1477-1549)

Ecstasy of St. Catherine (1525)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Siena, S. Domenico

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called Sodoma, though a Lombard by birth and training, is usually classed in the Sienese school because of his extensive activity in Siena and because of the Sienese character of his late work. Incidentally, he is useful to the methodical art historian for rounding off the Sienese school in the sixteenth century. After the plague of 1348 and the subsequent disintegration of the government of Siena, we have to depend on second-rate natives, like Matteo di Giovanni (with hardly more than one exception, Sassetta), and outsiders, like Sodoma, if we try to trace a continuation of the school in the two succeeding centuries.

Sodoma was a follower of Leonardo, particularly in technical matters such as the manipulation of light and shade, chiaroscuro. But by the time he decorated the chapel in Siena where the precious relic of St. Catherine of Siena is venerated, he had made his own all that he had borrowed from Leonardo. He was painting soft, voluptuous forms, with melting contours, in which he was able to express Sienese mysticism in its extreme development.

The high-water mark of Sodoma's career was reached in the fresco representing the Swoon of St. Catherine. Like St. Francis, she was granted a vision of the Saviour Himself and received in her hands and feet the marks of His martyrdom. Sodoma has represented the moment at which Christ, accompanied by a host of cherubs, appears in the sky and the saint in her spiritual ecstasy, that overpowers all physical strength, falls back into the arms of two sister nuns as she receives the stigmata. The figure of Christ betrays Sodoma's tendency toward effeminate, sentimental sweetness. But the group below, with all its grace and charm, is yet sincere, noble, and monumental. The effect is mystical rather than sentimental. This mysticism that barely misses sentimentality is the logical conclusion of the Sienese tendency that we see in the early masters of the school, in Duccio, Simone Martini, and Pietro Lorenzetti.

THE FLORENTINE AND RELATED SCHOOLS

(Nos. 736-881)

Margaritone d'Arezzo (1216?-1293?)

Madonna Enthroned and Scenes from the Lives of the Saints (Second Half of
Thirteenth Century)

Tempera on Cloth Pasted on Wood. H. 2 ft., 9 in.

London, National Gallery

For illustrating the survival of Romanesque traditions into the thirteenth century no better example could be found than this altarpiece, with its hieratic Madonna, its queer little figures in the side panels, and its conventional ornament. Many motives here are common to the art of more than one locality in the Romanesque period. We may find the adoring angels, the evangelists' symbols, the animal-shaped throne with long pointed cushion, the fluted folds, and other details in many examples of Romanesque art in Spain and France, as well as Italy. The abundant use of conventional ornament, too, is characteristic of Romanesque art, and the tendency to evolve a conventional design from every composition: note the outline of the mantle over the Virgin and the fluted edges of her tunic. The eight small pictures (the episodes represented are indicated by an inscription above each) are the Nativity, St. John the Evangelist liberated from the cauldron of boiling oil, St. John resuscitating Drusiana, St. Benedict rolling in thorns and resisting the devil, the martyrdom and burial on Mt. Sinai of St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Nicholas of Bari exhorting the sailors to throw away the cup given them by the devil, St. Nicholas liberating the condemned, and St. Margaret in prison swallowed and disgorged unhurt by the dragon. The background throughout is of gold. The altar panel came from S. Margherita, Arezzo, and its authorship is rendered certain by the signature beneath the central panel: MARGARIT DE ARITIO ME FECIT.

Cavallini, Pietro (c. 1260-c. 1335)

Saints: Detail of Last Judgment (c. 1293)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, S. Cecilia in Trastevere

Very different from the stereotyped, Romanesque work of Margaritone d'Arezzo (no. 736) is that of an important artist of the next generation, Pietro Cavallini. Even in the medium of mosaic, where the tendency toward conservatism is stronger than in painting, Cavallini departed from the traditional Byzantine types and proved himself a leader of that Roman school which took classical art and nature for its models. His striking characteristics, that Ghiberti praised, are more evident in his frescoes than in his mosaics. But as a fresco painter he must now be studied in a much less well-preserved work than those that represent him as a mosaicist. We see him to the best advantage in the fragmentary frescoes in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, where he apparently painted extensive wall decorations. Since the removal of whitewash in comparatively recent years part of the Last Judgment, which originally covered the entrance wall of the church, has become our best criterion for the style of Cavallini. The lower part of this fresco was entirely destroyed and the upper part covered with whitewash when a balcony was built across it for the use of the nuns of the convent which the church served. Even the upper part, regained for us by the removal of the whitewash, is considerably mutilated and the soft, luminous coloring, in which gray predominates, is much whitened. Still we can see quite clearly the splendid, dignified forms of Christ, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the apostles. Below we see parts of the scenes of angels leading the blessed to paradise and consigning the damned to hell. Christ is enthroned in the middle, with the Virgin and John the Baptist standing in an attitude of prayer at either side and a row of seated apostles, six on each side, extending beyond these. Our photograph shows John the Baptist and two apostles on the right-hand side. John the Baptist, gaunt, ascetic, is more closely related to the old Byzantine type than the others.

Yet his face, too, shows an appreciation of the third dimension that we miss in Byzantine painting, and his drapery falls in broad, sculpturesque folds that must have been inspired by classical art. The young apostle at the right in our photograph offers the best example of the short, round classical type of head as opposed to the long Byzantine type, and it shows, too, the classical delicacy and beauty of features. The poorest bit of drawing is in the rendition of the ears, which, probably just because they gave the artist special difficulty, are too conspicuous. The hair is drawn very carefully, and the gaze is in all cases intent and piercing. Yet, in spite of the careful attention to details, the broad, dignified effect of the whole is never lost. Such paintings as this must have furnished much inspiration for young Giotto.

The S. Cecilia frescoes are fairly certainly dated by the evidence that Cavallini was working in S. Cecilia at the same time that Arnolfo di Cambio was making a tabernacle there, in 1293.

738

Isaac Master

Esau before Isaac (c. 1290)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church

The frescoes of the Upper Church of S. Francesco still offer the critic many problems. Recently some of the finer parts, among them the picture of Esau before Isaac, have been attributed to Cavallini because of a similarity to that master's work in minor details and in the sculpturesque modeling in light and shade. But the gradation of light and shade is finer and the contour line separating the head from the halo is less emphasized than in the S. Cecilia frescoes (no. 737). And, especially, the dramatic effect is much stronger than in Cavallini's known works. As in the pictures that Giotto was painting fifteen or twenty years later, the story is plainly told with but slight use of accessories and with the fewest possible figures. Every detail of those figures is made to count in the dramatic expression. Isaac's simple gesture could not be improved as an expression of groping blindness. Esau, holding out his offering of venison, comes forward eagerly to receive his father's blessing, but at the same time he seems to recoil slightly as he senses something wrong in the old man's sad face. Rebecca watches the meeting with a cunning but anxious look, unconsciously raising her hand to her breast as if to protect herself from the punishment she is conscious of deserving. Especially fine is the venerable head of Isaac, modeled so simply and boldly, as conventional in its way as the old Byzantine mosaics (cf. no. 385), but as powerful and dignified as a head of God the Father by Michelangelo (cf. no. 872).

739

Cimabue (c. 1240-c. 1302)

Madonna Enthroned (c. 1285)

Tempera on Wood. H. 12 ft., 7½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

There is much dispute about the career of Cimabue, but this great Madonna altarpiece is attributed to him by all conservative critics. It was painted, according to Vasari, for the high altar of S. Trinità, Florence, where it remained till 1810. It was probably one of the earliest works of Cimabue, painted about 1285, and affords an excellent example of the first penetration into Italian art of the new spirit which was to flower in the Renaissance. Much about it is still Byzantine and primitive Italian. There is still the flat gold background; the throne is richly adorned with Cosmati inlay; and the angel wings recall mediaeval mosaics in their variegated coloring. The drapery does not seem to represent actual materials, naturally draped, and the

figures themselves are nearly as flat and silhouette-like as the virgins who march in procession on the wall of S. Apollinare Nuovo (no. 390). But even in the figures of the upper part of the panel, and especially in the prophets who look out of the niches below, there is a new life. These are prophets who foretold the mystery of the Virgin; their vision moves them to almost ecstatic frenzy. They are prophetic here in another sense, for they foreshadow the new Florentine art of which Cimabue marks the beginning. He took the old types bequeathed by Byzantium and mediaeval Italy and gave movement to the fixed poses and substituted emotion for the eternal stare. The angels are quite flat, to be sure, but their bodies are given a most graceful swing; they touch the throne reverently and seem about to carry it heavenward by the magic of their desire. The Christ Child is not so much of a manikin as in earlier work, he is more baby-like and yet is serious and dignified as seems appropriate to such a monumental work. The Madonna is least changed of all. Some critics see a still earlier work by Cimabue in a triptych of Christ, St. Peter, and St. James recently in the collection of Mr. Carl Hamilton, New York. The almost perfect preservation of this triptych, which is to be dated about 1272, renders it of great value for the study of the technique and coloring of panel painting of the thirteenth century in Tuscany.

740

Cimabue (c. 1240-c. 1302)

Madonna, Angels, and St. Francis (p. 1290)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church

The composition of the Madonna fresco assigned to Cimabue in the north transept of the Lower Church of S. Francesco is closely similar to that of the upper part of the Uffizi altarpiece (no. 739). But the fresco gives a more gentle, more intimate impression. Its original effect must have been unforgettable, for even repainted, as it is to-day, it claims a goodly share of the visitor's admiration in that church so rich in masterpieces. The heads of the Virgin and Child are entirely repainted, but we need not lose the human, informal note introduced by the gesture of the Madonna fondling the foot of the Child. This motive is no invention of Cimabue's, however; it is used, for example, by the traditionalist, Margaritone (no. 736), with whom it was, of course, not original. The St. Francis is particularly fascinating. He looks directly at us and holds us irresistibly with his intent, magnetic gaze.

741

Cimabue (c. 1240-c. 1302)

Calvary (c. 1296)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church

Among the decorations (painted c. 1296) for which we believe Cimabue responsible in the choir and transepts of the Upper Church of S. Francesco the Crucifixion is the most striking. The darkened, ruined condition of the fresco probably enhances its tragic effect and makes it even more appealing to one who is willing to study it carefully than it was in its original fresh colors. Expression of emotion through the old Italo-Byzantine figures could go no further. Cimabue has chosen the moment of cosmic upheaval, of heaven's manifestation of disapproval of the sins that necessitated this supreme sacrifice. The heavens are rent, angels in loud lamentation rush through the sky toward the Saviour, Who hangs agonizing on the cross, His drapery blown sharply to one side and His body twisted as by a whirlwind; it is the old Gothic swing of body, but with an added touch of tragedy. A fearful shock runs through the crowd of Jews at the right. They cringe and draw their mantles tight about them, while the centurion and another of the group reach each a pleading arm toward the Saviour. To the left Mary Magdalene is as loud

and impetuous in her grief as are the angels above. The Mother of Jesus and the favorite disciple John, who clasps her hand, feel a grief too profound for extravagant gesticulation or loud weeping. The Holy Women and the churchmen in the rear join in the lamentation. At the foot of the cross, bowed low in contrite devotion, kneels St. Francis, the poverty-loving monk in whose honor the great church of S. Francesco was built. It is fitting that his should be the most appealing figure and the one expressive of deepest emotion (cf. also no. 740), for it was he who turned Christianity from a cold, proud, self-satisfied but sterile ritual to a warm, loving, evangelistic religion. He furnished the incentive for the emotion with which Cimabue filled the old Italo-Byzantine forms. But he went further: he taught the love of nature. With that spirit the old Italo-Byzantine forms were out of tune. It remained for other artists than Cimabue to bring the physical change into art, to try to imitate the appearance of natural objects.

742

Giotto (?) (1266-1337)

St. Francis Preaching to the Birds (c. 1296)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church

In the Little Flowers of St. Francis we read that St. Francis one day journeying with some of his brethren saw "by the wayside a great multitude of birds; St. Francis was much surprised, and said to his companions, 'Wait for me here by the way, whilst I go and preach to my little sisters the birds.' " The burden of his sermon was that because of the blessings God showered upon the birds who "neither spin nor sew," "neither sow nor reap," they ought to praise Him continually with their songs. The birds bowed their heads to the ground and expressed their joy through song. "And the saint rejoiced with them; . . . and was charmed with their beautiful variety, with their attention and familiarity." With this graceful theme, among some seventeen or eighteen others in the series of twenty-eight pictures illustrating the legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi, Giotto is generally considered to have made his début in art so far as extant works are concerned. Giotto's share in these frescoes cannot be definitely determined; certainly, assistants were responsible for much of the execution, and Giotto may not even have made the designs. At least the work is all closely related to his style and must have been done a little before 1300. Though fault has been found with the composition of the pictures, the austere simplicity of our particular example makes it less vulnerable than some of the others.

According to reasonable tradition, Giotto was a pupil of Cimabue, so he must have been with his master at Assisi and seen the various styles of painting being practiced in the great church of St. Francis. Cimabue's works impressed him by their emotion and Cavallini's and other Roman artists' by their sculpturesque form. Giotto set out to combine the two qualities. And if his work lacks the fanatical zeal of his master, it is yet full of life and action.

Practically all the youthful Giotto's attention was absorbed in the narration. Accordingly, the setting of our subject is meager. It suffices, however, to give a good suggestion of the out-of-doors; and the large tree, though simplified, is yet convincing and very decorative. St. Francis bends with naïve eagerness toward the birds in the posture that one assumes when telling stories to children. The figures of both mendicants are well rounded and naturally draped. But most interesting of all are the birds. Like St. Francis, we are "charmed by their beautiful variety," and their naturalistic treatment is remarkable.

The painter of this fresco was still timidly feeling his way. He did not yet have the mastery of form and the ease of representation shown by the painter of Esau before Isaac (no. 738) which Giotto and his fellow-workers had as a model here in the Upper Church.

Giotto (1266-1337)

Madonna Enthroned (c. 1304)

Tempera on Panel. H. 10 ft., 8½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Giotto, like Cimabue, was not at his best in panel painting. The altarpiece required a formality not suited to the narrative style of Giotto nor to the emotionalism of Cimabue. Composition is a very important feature in the altarpiece; and though in later life Giotto developed a more perfect style of composition than Cimabue had attained, the older master's work in the Uffizi (no. 739) is more successful than its neighbor by Giotto. The latter has continued the throne into a chapel-like construction, which crowds the Madonna too closely, and her solidity and heaviness make her seem a little out of keeping with her heavenly attendants. We do not feel as in Cimabue's panel that the gentle touch of the angels could carry her heavenward. Yet, for all that, she is monumental and dignified, the lovely angels are gracious and sincere in their adoration, and the delicate nuances of pale rose, violet, green, and dull white form a harmonious ensemble with the gold background. The picture was done for the "Frati Umiliati" of Ognissanti, Florence. It has been variously dated; the still tentative composition seems to justify the early dating of about 1304, just before the work at Padua, in which the master completely found himself.

744 a, b

Giotto (1266-1377)

History of the Virgin and Christ (c. 1305)

Fresco. H. to Crown of Vault, 42 ft.

Padua, Arena Chapel

Giotto's greatest accomplishment and one of the most precious of all things which have come down to us from the past is the frescoed decoration of the Cappella degli Scrovegni, or Arena Chapel. The chapel was built on the site of a Roman arena by Enrico Scrovegni in 1303-1305 and Giotto's work was undertaken about 1305, though it may not have been finished until three or four years later.

The building has only a single nave with a barrel vaulted ceiling and with six high windows in the south wall. The entire space available on walls and ceiling is painted in fresco. The paintings are beautiful in detail, but their unusual glory lies in their unity and harmony. The decoration of the Sistine Chapel (nos. 871-876) is remarkable in detail, but it is not, like that of the Arena Chapel, conceived and in all important parts executed by one master. The walls of the Arena Chapel with their many scenes, and the ceiling strewn with golden stars and set with pictured medallions (with busts of Christ, the Virgin, and prophets) are brought into one harmonious whole by the sky-blue background everywhere used. The other colors, warm and soft, furnish variety but no jarring notes. Bands of ornament in which are framed occasional small scenes from the Old and New Testaments separate the thirty-eight compositions. The topmost of the three rows of scenes contains episodes from the life of the Virgin and her parents, drawn from the Pseudo Matthew; in the second row is set forth the life of Christ, and in the bottom row, His Passion. The space beneath these three rows is painted to resemble a marble base on which are represented, as if sculptured, grisaille figures of the Seven Vices on the north wall and Seven Virtues on the south wall, paired as if to explain each other by contrast: Hope and Despair, Charity and Envy, Faith and Disbelief, Justice and Injustice, Temperance and Wrath, Fortitude and Inconstancy, Wisdom and Folly. These allegorical figures occupy an important place among Giotto's productions because their sculpturesque conception was eminently suited to his method of expression. One sees by his work on the campanile at Florence (see no. 638) that he was a true sculptor; and it is useful in this connection to remember that Giovanni Pisano (see

no. 635) was working for the Arena Chapel at the same time as Giotto. The elder of the two and working in a medium which had great appeal for Giotto, Giovanni must have exercised no little influence upon the painter. The source of iconographical material for the Virtues and Vices may well have been sculpture also, for Giotto had plenty of chance to see these allegories as decorations on the façades of Romanesque cathedrals.

All four horizontal divisions of the decoration find their beginning and ending at the sides of the arched entrance to the choir. In the lunette over that entrance God the Father sits enthroned surrounded by a heavenly host, among whom is Gabriel ready to bear the Annunciation message to Mary.

Opposite this almost lyric and certainly auspicious beginning of the story of salvation, and facing it across the length of the chapel, is the story's catastrophic ending: the entrance wall is wholly given over to the Last Judgment, the largest picture that Giotto ever designed. The actual execution cannot be entirely by his hand, but he painted the most important figures. On either side of the majestic figure of Christ, Who sits enthroned in a rainbow-hued mandorla, are the apostles. Above are heavenly hosts armed for battle and marshaled by angles bearing cross-emblazoned banners. Beneath Christ is the cross, traditional boundary between the blessed and the ~~damned~~. Enrico Scrovegni, founder of the chapel, kneels near the foot of the cross and presents to three emissaries from heaven a model of the church, which is supported by a white-robed monk, probably the architect. In the uppermost tier of the blessed, led by the beautiful Virgin floating in a glory of light, and acting as mediator, come the saints, prophets, and others of particular favor. Then come less important ranks of the saved, directed by angels, and in the lowest tier still others are just rising from their graves. On the other side is hell, through which streams a fire issuing from the feet of Christ. On this side the figures are smaller and the action confused so that one's eye quickly comes back to the calm, ordered region of the blessed and is led by the direction of movement there to the dominating figure by Christ.

745

Giotto (1266-1337)

Joachim Returning to the Sheepfolds (c. 1305)

Fresco. H. of Figures, c. 3½ ft.

Padua, Arena Chapel

Some of the most beautiful pictures in the series of the Arena Chapel decorations are in the top row, where we follow the appealing story of Joachim and Anna and the graceful episodes in the childhood of the Virgin. These scenes are, in general, more simple in composition and more quiet and intimate in feeling than those in the two rows below, where the action and emotion increase in intensity toward the last episodes of the Passion.

After Joachim's offering in the temple is rejected he retires to his sheepfold, his majestic form bowed in grief and humility, so preoccupied that he does not heed the dog that comes barking a welcome nor the two shepherds who stand looking at each other, with warning glances, afraid to stir lest they disturb the profound meditation of their master. The tiny sheep are far from naturalistic. Giotto has made them diminutive so as not to detract from the importance of the main subject while they yet serve to give local color to the story. The mountainous landscape is equally symbolical, but the atmosphere of quiet and solitude that it produces is unmistakable. The genre note introduced by the frisking dog serves as a foil to the solemnity of Joachim.

Giotto (1266-1337)

Flight into Egypt (c. 1305)

Fresco. H. of Figures, c. 3½ ft.

Padua, Arena Chapel

One of the very charming scenes in the second row of compositions in the Arena Chapel is the Flight into Egypt, where the holy family with attendants and led by an angel advance through, or rather past, Giotto's usual landscape symbols. As has been observed, the firm and restrained movement is preëminently characteristic of Giotto; he never indulged in fussy haste. It is the imposing, quiet rhythm which gives the composition its dignity and grandeur. The vigorous, sane Giotto must have gone about his work in this same swift, sure manner. When one turns to the details, one finds delightful passages, such as the tender way the Virgin holds her Child resting on her bosom. A scarf suspended from her shoulders helps support Him as they move along.

Giotto (1266-1337)

Pietà (c. 1305)

Fresco. H. of Figures, c. 3½ ft.

Padua, Arena Chapel

The dramatic power of the Arena Chapel series reaches its climax in the lamentation over Christ. For this is more emotional than the Crucifixion itself, where Christ hangs majestic and dignified even in death, and His mourners control their emotion before the unsympathetic soldiers. But when He has been taken down from the cross and His mother and close followers are alone with His stark form in their arms they give vent to their bitter grief. How expressive are the bodies bending over Him, and what tragedy is told by the hands! All movement is toward the head of Christ and the lamentation becomes more intense as the figures near it. Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus at the right and the figures behind the Holy Women at the left serve as a sort of barrier to hem in and concentrate the emotion. The rock formation and barren tree are the only signs of landscape and echo the desolate, forsaken cry of the mourners. Cutting diagonally across the picture, the rock is an excellent device for leading the eye to that center of interest, the head of Christ. The angels rush down toward the same point. They are as loud in their lament as are the angels in Cimabue's Assisi Crucifixion (no. 741).

Giotto (1266-1337) and Follower

Allegory of Poverty (c. 1312-c. 1320)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church

The life of St. Francis had been given the most conspicuous space in the Upper Church at Assisi. The most important field in the Lower Church, the central low groined vault directly over the saint's tomb, it now seemed fitting to give to the exposition of the monastic vows. For this important task it was natural that Giotto should be the painter called. He had already proven his ability in the St. Francis series of the Upper Church and had particularly distinguished himself by the Arena Chapel frescoes at Padua. Both the authorship and the date of the decorations on the Lower Church vault are disputed, but we may feel near the truth at least in considering the designs of the three allegories as the work of Giotto, while the execution of all three and

also the design of the fourth composition are by a gifted follower of Giotto. We have taken Professor Mather's suggested dating, 1312-1320 - years not known to have been occupied by other important work and yet late enough for the accomplished style of these frescoes.

A new problem now presented itself, the decoration of four triangular, concave surfaces, intended to be seen obliquely. Three of the triangles are filled with allegories of the three monastic vows, poverty, chastity, and obedience; in the fourth is the glorification of St. Francis. The most famous is the allegory of poverty, partly because it is the best composition, partly because in connection with the Franciscans the vow of poverty has always excited more interest than the others. Plenty of people are chaste and obedient as a matter of course, but to choose deliberately a life of poverty is unusual in any age. Giotto expressed his views of such a vow in a rhyme the sense of which is as follows: "Poverty, though commended by those who live poorly, is by no means commendable. Involuntary poverty leads the world to evil, judges to corruption, dames and damsels to dishonor, and men in general to lying, violence, and theft. As to poverty elect, it is as frequently evaded as observed. Yet, in respect of observance, that certainly cannot be good which requires no discretion, knowledge, or qualities of any kind, nor justly be called virtue which excludes what is good."

Nevertheless, when he was employed to exalt poverty in a painting, Giotto presented it, like the good artist that he was, as if it had seemed to him the thing most greatly to be desired. On a rocky eminence Christ officiates at the mystic marriage of St. Francis to gaunt Poverty, who is clad in rags and stands among briars. Heavenly hosts have descended to witness the ceremony and Faith and Charity present their gifts of a ring and a burning heart to the bride. At the lower left a youth, whose attention is directed by an angel to the example of St. Francis, gives his cloak to a beggar. In contrast to this scene, a man in the right corner resists the pleading of an angel and indicates by a gesture and the falcon on his wrist that he means to follow a life of pleasure. Further to the right Avarice is symbolized by a man grasping a bag of gold, and a man behind seems to advise against the course pointed out by the angel. A barking dog and two jeering boys, throwing stones and goading the bride with a stick, show the world's disapproval of St. Francis' choice, while Heaven's approval is shown above by God's reception from two angels of the cloak given to the beggar and the model of St. Francis' church.

Though the composition is more complicated than in any of Giotto's earlier work, his usual economy is observed, so that every figure and every detail have significance, and there is perfect clarity throughout. The composition is well adapted to the architectural space, explaining, rather than concealing, the concave surface.

The delicate color is so different from that of works executed by Giotto that another must have done the actual painting. The radiant color scheme of blue, gold, pink, pale green, and white remains unspoiled by restoration. It suggests the influence of Siena, for the Florentine lacked the color sensitivity of the Sienese.

749

Giotto (1266-1337)

Birth and Naming of John the Baptist (c. 1320)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

Giotto must have been nearly sixty years old when he began the decoration of the four chapels in the transept of S. Croce. It speaks ill for eighteenth century taste that the frescoes in all these chapels were covered with white-wash about 1714. From 1841 to 1863 the walls of the Peruzzi chapel were cleaned, and soon after, those of the Bardi Chapel. In spite of much injury and bad restoration, the frescoes still clearly show the consummation of Giotto's powers.

The chief decorations of the Peruzzi Chapel are three scenes from the life of John the Baptist and three from the life of John the Evangelist. The

Birth and the Naming of the Baptist, separated by a simulated partition, are painted in one frame and form a unified design. St. Elizabeth (head repainted) reclines on the bed, her plastic form indicated beneath the covers and her head supported on one hand, heedless of the solicitous servants at her bedside and looking at the person who stands near the door. This last is a splendid classical figure, as is also Zacharias, who, still unable to speak, sits in the adjoining room writing the name in a tablet as the infant is displayed to him. One is continually reminded of ancient art in looking at these frescoes, for the drapery is classical in design and the figures have the composure and dignity of classical art: the group of men and women who come to present the infant John to Zacharias remind one of the imperial family group in the procession of the Ara Pacis (no. 157). The architecture is still symbolical, for Giotto always uses it merely as stage setting for the figures, in which is centered all his interest. But the grouping of the figures is more compact than in his early works at Assisi and Padua.

750

Giotto (1266-1337)

Feast of Herod (c. 1320)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

Two scenes are again included in this composition, where Salome dances before Herod and then turns and kneels before Herodias, to whom she gives the head of the saint. The relationship of the two rooms is a puzzle. It is hard to see how Herodias, seated across the anteroom, is yet close to Salome, whose feet extend into the main room and whose dress actually touches the train of her dress in the first representation. Nevertheless, the perspective in this composition is far more correct than in Giotto's early works and there is depth and space here. The figures are not placed in a single plane at the front of the picture, as Giotto would have placed them earlier; they move about in the room. This room is really part of an open loggia, the elegance and rich decoration of which are enhanced by contrast with the severe prison tower at the left. The sculptural quality of the figures no longer strikes us so insistently. Giotto has become more pictorial in his painting. Yet there is no lack of solidity and roundness of form; the soldier who presents the head of the Baptist is like a figure by Mantegna (cf. no. 888). Just outside the loggia at the left a musician plays on a viol; completely absorbed in his music, he reminds one of the charming musicians that the North Italians delighted to place at the feet of the enthroned Madonna (cf. no. 912). Inside, Salome, in no sense the licentious, suggestive figure of the usual interpretation, moves with stately step to the music of the viol and her own lyre. At a raised table sit Herod and two guests. The guest whom we see clearly makes a gesture of horrified surprise as the head of the saint is brought into the room on a charger. But Herod, torn between fear of the deed and fascination with the dancing, knows not how to react. Two serving girls at the right cringe with horror, and yet their morbid curiosity will not let them take their eyes off the head. One would like to see Herodias' expression; her head is almost completely effaced. Yet her reaction is probably told as clearly without the face, in her calm pose and the matter-of-fact way in which she takes the charger in her hands. Giotto knew how to express tragedy without wild gesticulation. The most tragic thing in the world is a human being unmoved by a murderous deed.

Giotto (1266-1337)

Translation of St. John the Evangelist (c. 1320)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

One of the marvels of Giotto is that the heavy, firm figures which stand so solidly on the ground he is able also to represent convincingly as floating through the air. The splendid figure of John the Evangelist in the scene of the translation (only a part of which is included in our reproduction) loses none of its monumental dignity as it sweeps upward, not with great fluttering of drapery or agitation of arms and legs, but with that calm, quiet rhythm that always suggests inevitable accomplishment.

The source followed for the miracle here enacted is the Golden Legend, which has the translation of the evangelist take place suddenly in the presence of the whole assemblage: "When he had finished his prayer (in the grave which he had caused to be dug for him in front of the altar) he was surrounded by so strong a light that no one could look at him, and when the light disappeared, they found no man in the grave." The scene takes place in the central aisle of a basilica of light and graceful construction. The diagonally moving figure of the evangelist, contrasting in its beautifully drawn curves with the straight vertical and horizontal lines of the architecture, rises majestically through an opening in the roof, where he is greeted and assisted by Christ with a holy escort. From the face of Christ emanate rays of light, pouring over the body of St. John and blinding the spectators, one of whom, at the right, falls prostrate with his face in his hands (this figure is excellently foreshortened), while a second shades his eyes with his hand as he tries to look at St. John. A ritual procession is coming in from the right, headed by the bearers of the cross, the taper, and the Book. To the left are five spectators evincing as many different reactions toward the miracle: a coarse, heavy type of man, with his hand on his chin, stands in doubt. In front of him an aged person looks inquiringly into the grave, while one younger rises with an air of conviction. Surprise and wonder are expressed by the faces and gestures of the other two. Everything that Giotto stands for is to be found in these frescoes: beauty and clarity of composition, dignity and solidity of figure, sureness of expression. We may well believe with Sirén that the Peruzzi Chapel is the starting point of the whole subsequent development of Florentine painting.

Giotto (1266-1337)

St. Francis before the Soldan (c. 1325)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Bardi Chapel

St. Francis is the inspiration of the entire decoration of the Bardi Chapel: the six scenes deal with his life and death, a lunette over the entrance portrays his stigmatization, and the single figures represent important Franciscan saints. An innovation in this chapel is the treatment of each wall as a compositional unit, with a single viewpoint for the three scenes, one above the other. The fire ordeal before the sultan occupies the central course of one wall. St. Francis stands eager to prove his God by entering the flames - but on condition that the Moslem priests will enter on their faith also. The enthroned sultan, a splendid, strong figure, points out the enthusiastic St. Francis to his hesitant priests, and two attendants of the sultan urge the priests to accept the challenge. George Elliot's description of the mortal dread that filled the soul of Savonarola at the prospect of such an ordeal finds pictorial expression in the faces and figures of these infidels. Not much greater faith than theirs is evinced by the monk accompanying St. Francis; he draws back in fear, yet looks with devotion at his superior. Only a shallow three-sided screen furnishes the suggestion of a room, and there

would not be much feeling of depth in the picture were it not for the sultan's throne, set back by a series of steps. For an idea of the progress Giotto has made, this picture should be compared with the representation of the same subject at Assisi. The Bardi work shows its superiority in composition, draughtsmanship, and in dignified narration of the story.

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Giotto (1266-1337)

Death of St. Francis (c. 1325)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Bardi Chapel

The most famous of the Bardi series of frescoes is the Death of St. Francis. At either side of the bed are gathered the saint's brethren, kissing his hands and feet and looking devotedly and mournfully into his placid, lifeless face. Only one, beside the head of the bed, sees with wonder the saint's soul, represented by his likeness (entirely repainted), carried up to heaven in a halo by angels. Besides the monks kneeling at the bed there is a nobleman, the incredulous Girolamo, who puts his finger in the wound left by the stigmata, as the doubting Thomas touched the wounded side of his Master. One of the two laymen at the extreme left of the picture is, according to Vasari, Arnolfo, the architect of S. Croce. At the foot of the bed are clergymen with cross-tipped gonfalon and tapers. At the head are other clergymen reading the prayers for the dead. Sharp contrast is drawn between the sincere mourning of the friars who had been the saint's companions and devoted followers, and the formal grief of the indifferent, though respectful, clergymen whose duties have inured them to such scenes. The calm, ample forms of these clergymen serve also to shut in the emotion which surges about the body of the saint. Their upright lines are repeated by the vertical paneling of the wall, as the horizontal lines of the corpse and bier are repeated by the horizontal paneling. Much of the success of the work both as design and as expression is attained by contrasts. For a comparison with Giotto's earlier treatment of such a subject, we go back to the Pietà in the Arena Chapel (no. 747). The Bardi composition is more organized and better confined within the space, and the outburst of grief is more subdued. None of Giotto's later works that have survived to us can tell us more of his genius than this.

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Gaddi, Taddeo (c. 1300-1366)

Meeting of Joachim and Anna (c. 1338)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce, Baroncelli Chapel

Leonardo, in his Treatise on Painting, points to the followers of Giotto to exemplify his thesis that imitation of other painters as a substitution for study of nature leads inevitably to degeneration in art. Like all imitators, they caught and exaggerated the more obvious, superficial peculiarities of the master's style. The most prolific of Giotto's followers and by far the best known is Taddeo Gaddi, who was for twenty-four years (1303-1327 ?) the assistant of his godfather, Giotto. Taddeo worked with remarkable facility in both fresco and panel painting - with too great facility, for he did not exercise care in the fundamental requirements of draftsmanship and color harmony. His lack of originality would not have prevented his being very useful in the execution of his master's designs, and his facility must have been very valuable for that work.

Taddeo was impressed by the variety and movement in Giotto's work, and, with the usual maxim that if a little is good more is better, he set about attaining more variety and greater movement. But it was the unimportant accessories that he varied and he failed to sufficiently consider the appro-

priateness of movement. In his meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, which we may contrast with Giotto's interpretation of the subject at Padua, we have the clearest commentary on his work. Giotto filled the whole background of his picture with a broad, simple drawing of the Beautiful Gate, the only architectural feature essential to the subject. Taddeo has relegated the gate to one side in such a way that there is no suggestion of Anna and her companions having emerged from it, and he has shown us over the wall an accumulative - not an organized - view of a city. The dome rising above the numerous towers is probably intended for the Dome of the Chain in Jerusalem. The figures, as in most of Taddeo's work, are more slender than Giotto's, probably the effect of an attempt to attain more lightness and grace. (In his late work, as in a polyptych in the Metropolitan Museum, the figures became shorter and more clumsy.) Except for the poor drawing of the heads, they do very well so long as they stand still: the group of three at the right indicate some appreciation of the classical drapery and monumental pose of the Peruzzi Chapel figures. But the moment they attempt to move, they betray Taddeo's deficiency of anatomical knowledge. Joachim seems moving to the unwinding of a spring somewhere in his wooden body, Anna falls forward like a statue toppling from its base, and the servant following Joachim with the offering is like a doll with joints that turn in any direction. Equally unsatisfactory is the trivial expression of the faces, if one can speak of expression at all in connection with them. The solemnity and reverence of the occasion when Joachim meets his wife after their prayers for a child and their heavenly visions is not in the least suggested here, while everyone feels it in looking at Giotto's painting.

The construction of the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce seems to have been finished in 1338; presumably Taddeo painted the decorations immediately thereafter. The scenes from the life of Joachim, Anna, and the Virgin with which Taddeo covered the walls, are separated by painted columns: the twisted column at the right in our fresco is a good representation of Cosmati work. A few separate saints and allegorical figures, also by Taddeo, complete the decoration of the chapel. Taddeo painted other chapels in S. Croce, but only the work in the Baroncelli remains.

755

Orcagna, Andrea (? - a. 1376)

Christ, The Virgin, and Saints: Strozzi Altarpiece (1354-1357)

Tempera on Wood

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel

For appreciation and development of the essential qualities of Giotto we look not to his assistants and imitators, but to men who, like himself, were innovators. Like Giotto, Orcagna worked in architecture and sculpture as well as in painting. Because of his famous tabernacle in Or San Michele (no. 639) we know him best as a sculptor. But one authenticated painting by Orcagna has come down to us, the Strozzi altarpiece. This was ordered by a member of the Strozzi family in 1354 for their chapel in the church of S. Maria Novella, but it was not finished until three years later. Under the large central division of the panel we read the date, 1357, and the name of the artist.

Within a mandorla formed of wing-enfolded cherubs, and with two musical angels at either side, Christ sits enthroned. To the right St. Peter, kneeling under the protection of John the Baptist, receives the paradise keys from Christ; to the left St. Thomas Aquinas, presented by the Virgin, receives the Book of the Gospel. At the extreme right and left are Sts. Paul and Lawrence, and Sts. Michael and Catherine, with their respective symbols. The central division of the predella represents St. Peter Walking on the Water. The subjects of the side scenes have not been precisely interpreted; they are apparently drawn from the life of a saint. At the left is the celebration of the Mass; at the right a dying potentate is surrounded by mourners. This last subject has small accompanying scenes: St. Michael weighing the dead man's soul, which St. Lawrence saves from the devil, and what appears to be a temptation scene.

The altarpiece does not have the traditional complete divisions of a polyptych. These divisions are only suggested by the five gables and by the

general grouping of the figures. For the rest, the panel is thought of as one field. This has given the artist more freedom; the figures are not cramped for space, and the lines flow gracefully throughout the composition. This increase in grace and the sweetness of expression are noticeable in the contrast of Orcagna with Giotto. Giotto's rotundity of form and selection of essentials Orcagna has made his own and added refinements too. The drapery, particularly, shows Orcagna's independence; these beautiful folds are studied directly from nature. The glow of color - azure, carmine, orange, violet, light blue, gray, black, and gold - together with the dignified, firm pose of the figures, gives a ceremonious grandeur most appropriate to the formal altarpiece.

Through similarity with the Strozzi altarpiece a number of other panels are attributed to Orcagna, among them two splendid saints and an Adoration of the Magi in the Jarvis collection, New Haven, a Madonna in the Lehman collection, New York, and a predella in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia. The Johnson panel shows particularly strong similarity to the Strozzi predella in the small size of the figures in proportion to the scenes, and in brilliance of color and splendid decorative effect.

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Orcagna, Andrea (? - a. 1376)

Christ Heralded by Angels: Upper part of Last Judgment (c. 1360)

Fresco

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel

S. Maria Novella was once rich in the art of Orcagna. His most important frescoes decorated the choir; these were badly damaged soon after their execution and were given up entirely in the fifteenth century for a redecoration by Ghirlandaio. Ghiberti tells us that Andrea's brother, Nardo di Cione, decorated the Strozzi chapel with frescoes. Most critics are unwilling to take this statement unqualified; they see in the frescoes the evidence of two hands, one of them Andrea's; but they disagree as to the division. It may be that more painstaking study of details will make definite attributions possible. For the present, we may consider Andrea's part to be the design of the Last Judgment on the end wall and the execution of its more important figures. Paradise and Hell, on the side walls of the chapel, we shall attribute to the brother.

The Last Judgment faces the entrance to the chapel and is beautifully composed to fill the space about the lancet window. At the top, announced by two trumpeting angels and accompanied by four others bearing emblems of the Passion, Christ comes to separate the saved from the damned. Lower, at the left, the beautiful white-robed Virgin, beside six seated apostles, kneels as intercessor for the people below, while in the same capacity at the right John the Baptist, with six other apostles, looks up entreatingly toward the Saviour. Below are people of all times and walks of life: patriarchs, prophets, saints and martyrs, kings and princes, churchmen. The joys of the saved are symbolized by dancers on the left who seem to foretell the art of Fra Angelico (cf. nos. 774-778), and the sufferings of the damned are indicated on the right by the tearing of clothes and gnashing of teeth.

A comparison of this fresco with Giotto's Last Judgment in the Arena Chapel (no. 744) shows us the progress that Orcagna, fifty years later, has made. The most obvious difference is in the composition as a whole. Orcagna has broken free from many of the stereotyped usages. Christ no longer sits enthroned within a mandorla: he comes borne on clouds and accompanied by rushing angels, a prototype of Michaelangelo's majestic conception of God the Father in the Sistine Ceiling (no. 872). The formal, somewhat monotonous haloed host of Giotto's picture is omitted, and the apostles sit in the clouds, without the incongruous use of chairs and semicircular platform.

In the matter of detail, Orcagna has made progress toward perspective; figures are quite convincingly, if not scientifically, foreshortened. The faces, particularly of the men, are treated more as individuals than as types. One notices especially the famous portrait of Dante among the blessed and the two striking heads beside him (these are not included in our photograph).

There is more grace and sweetness in the forms and faces of Orcagna's fresco than in Giotto's and though the S. Maria Novella decoration is much injured, we can still see that the gradations of light and shade and the blending of colors are more refined than in the work at Padua.

757

Nardo di Cione (? -1365)

Paradise (c. 1360)

Fresco

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel

To Nardo di Cione are usually ascribed the decorations of the two side walls of the Strozzi Chapel, depicting Paradise at the left and Hell at the right. The composition of Hell is interesting as giving a close pictorial interpretation of Dante's Inferno, but it has been so badly injured and repainted that it now has little aesthetic merit. Paradise, too, has suffered much in spots, but in other parts we get the original effect.

It is immediately evident that Nardo was not, like his brother Andrea, trained as a sculptor; he was essentially pictorial. The effect of the Paradise fresco as a whole is that of a tapestry, creating no illusion of depth, but hanging flat against the wall. Thus it is beautifully decorative, with its harmony of bright coloring and its formal, rhythmic composition, based on clearly marked vertical and horizontal lines. The figures are of even taller and more slender proportions than are Andrea's and the sweetness of facial expression is heightened.

Enthroned under a canopy in the midst of paradise, Christ and the Virgin sit with cherubim and seraphim on either hand, two musical angels beneath the throne, and the hosts of the blessed of all times and types ranged in overlapping rows below. A little to the right at the bottom an angel leads into paradise a knight and a nun. These are probably intended to represent definite characters, perhaps members of the Strozzi family. There are a number of heads in the fresco which are clearly portraits; some of these we could probably identify if we could see the painting in its original condition. The fine, monumental character of some of the most important figures, such as Christ and the Virgin, tempts one to see in them the design of the sculptor, Andrea.

The style of Nardo is represented in America by the central part of a triptych representing the Madonna with angels and saints in the Platt collection, Englewood, and another Madonna and saints belonging to the New York Historical Society. Both these panels have been attributed to Nardo himself.

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Bonaiuti (Andrea da Firenze (Active 1343-1377)

Navicella (1365)

Fresco. W. at Base, c. 30 ft.

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel

Until the recent discovery of documents proving that the decoration of the Spanish Chapel (chapter house of S. Maria Novella; it gets its present name from having been assigned to Spanish residents of Florence in 1566) was begun by Bonaiuti in 1365, Vasari's attribution of the work to Simone Martini and Taddeo Gaddi was not considered entirely unreasonable. The possibility of such an ascription indicates the Sienese-Giottesque character of the work, a combination common in Florentine painting of the second half of the fourteenth century, just as Sienese painting in the first half of the century had shown, in the work of the Lorenzetti, an infiltration of Florentine characteristics. Florence now takes from the Sienese, particularly from the Lorenzetti, a tendency toward loose, discursive narrative, some gaiety of coloring, and,

at times, something of the silhouette-like character of Duccio and Simone Martini. For the most part, Sienese characteristics predominate in the decorations of the Spanish Chapel. But in the Navicella we are reminded particularly of Giotto because this is the best extant version of the famous mosaic (now entirely restored and spoiled) designed by Giotto for St. Peter's, Rome, about 1300. (In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is an old drawing of Giotto's mosaic.)

Bonaiuti's version occupies one of the four triangular divisions into which the ceiling of the chapel is divided by strips of painted ornament. These fields, with their richly ornamented borders, recall the problem of the allegorical compositions on the vault of the Lower Church at Assisi. Giotto's mosaic composition has been easily adapted to one of these spaces. It was necessary only to tip the sail of the storm-tossed boat a bit more to fit it into the apex and to push down a little into the lower right angle the episode of Christ saving Peter from the waves, and into the lower left angle Giotto's realistic fisherman. The towers beside the fisherman have had to be omitted. The further omission, from the sky, of the four cloud-borne patriarchal figures improves the clarity of the composition, but the allegorical figures of the winds are again placed in such positions that they blow in various directions and thus do not furnish a more reasonable explanation of the bulging sail. The later painter has reproduced the commotion in the boat, the agitation of the apostles, weeping, praying, crying out, and pulling at the ropes. But we notice all this less, because the figures are smaller in proportion to the space than in Giotto's mosaic. With Giotto the pose and expression of the individual figure and its dramatic relationship to other figures furnished the chief interest. With Bonaiuti the picturesque outline of the sweeping sail against the dark sea and the cloud flecked sky counted far more.

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Bonaiuti (Andrea da Firenze) (Active 1342-1377)

The Church Militant and Triumphant (1365)

Fresco. H. c. 25 ft.

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel

One could find no better example of the discursive type of art prevalent in the epoch following Giotto than the fresco popularly, but wrongly, labeled the Church Militant and Triumphant, painted on a side wall of the Spanish Chapel. It occupies the whole wall, with none of the divisions into smaller fields that Giotto was accustomed to make. The harmonious coloring, in spite of restorations, gives the picture some attractiveness. But the composition is so complicated and apparently lacking in design that one may at first glance be puzzled to know why the work is so famous. Like discursive productions of any kind it requires time for enjoyment. Its subject is a recipe for preparing one's self for the Last Judgment, taken from Passavante's Mirror of Real Penitence. Since S. Maria Novella was a Dominican church, the founder and members of this order are naturally exalted in the decorations. Representing the equal necessity of temporal and religious rule, the emperor and the pope sit enthroned before the cathedral of Florence. Buonaiuti was at this time a member of the commission which was directing the construction of the cathedral, so the drawing of the edifice here probably represents the plan that he favored. Grouped at the side of the pope are representatives of all ranks of religious life; beside the emperor (the best preserved figure of the group) are various classes of laymen. Among the group of the laymen tradition points, with little plausibility, to portraits of Cimabue (in profile, wearing a pointed hood and short mantle), Laura (with a burning heart), Petrarch, and Arnolfo. With this group before the cathedral the glorification of temporal power ends. The rest of the composition shows the importance of religion, more specifically, of the religion dispensed by the Dominican order. In the right foreground St. Dominic, founder of the order, appears thrice, exhorting unbelievers and heretics to turn to salvation (St. Thomas Aquinas may be intended in the third figure, preaching to the heretics). There is much variety in the reaction of these, some doubting, some disputing, some adoring, some tearing their heretical looks. Before these groups run the black and white dogs, which have made the picture famous. By a play on the word "Dominicani" - domini (Latin) plus cani (Italian) - these dogs represent the militant evangelical monks of this order fighting

against the heretics (wolves) that threaten the safety of the Christians (a flock of sheep lying at the feet of the pope and emperor). In the middle ground to the right of the cathedral, in a charming Florentine landscape, a Dominican monk is blessing one who has turned from the pleasures of dalliance, music, and dancing, represented here in a manner that recalls Lorenzetti's Good Government frescoes at Siena (no. 723) and a group in the Triumph of Death at Pisa (no. 725). A little further up St. Dominic welcomes the repentant sinners and directs them to the gates of paradise. St. Peter and two angels greet them here, where, through repentance, they have literally "become as little children." Just inside the gates are assembled a large group of saints and martyrs. In the apex of the composition Christ appears in glory, as in the Last Judgment; He holds the Book and the Key. On an altar at His feet is the lamb, symbol of sacrifice, beside which are evangelistic symbols. Hosts of angels seem to be bearing through the air the aureole in which Christ is enthroned. There is no attempt at realism in the picture. Figures are arbitrarily made large or small as suits their use and importance, the gates of paradise are built out on a kind of platform above the cathedral, and the heavenly hosts float forward over the Florentine hills and villas. But this does not trouble us; we accept the naïve conventions just as we accept the unrealities of a myth or fairy tale.

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Bonaiuti (Andrea da Firenze) (Active 1343-1377)

Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas (1365)

Fresco. H. c. 25 ft.

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel

On the west side of the chapel, facing the exposition of the militant evangelical mission of the Dominican order, is a fresco devoted to its theological supremacy. Here the famous scholar of the order, St. Thomas Aquinas, sits enthroned in majesty with the Book of Wisdom open at the sixth verse of the seventh chapter:

"I willed, and sense was given me.
I prayed, and the spirit of wisdom came upon me,
And I set her before kingdoms and thrones."

At his sides are the four evangelists, St. Paul, and five prophets of the Old Testament, Job, David, Moses, Isaiah, and King Solomon. Above him float seven angels bearing emblems of Christian virtues. At his feet are the heretics Arius, Sabellius, and Averrhoes, whom his learning has refuted. Stretching across the lower half of the composition is an elaborately ornamented high-backed bench on which are seated personifications of arts and sciences, with a representative seated at the feet of each and with medallions above in which are figures usually showing some connection with the respective personifications. From left to right the personifications according to the usual interpretation are: 1. Civil Law holding the globe to indicate her universal sway, and the leveled sword to indicate her equity; below her is Emperor Justinian, and in the pinnacle above, a distressed person, perhaps Trajan's widow, appealing for justice. 2. Christian Law, holding a model of a church; below her is Pope Clement IV making the sign of blessing and holding the keys as successor of St. Peter; the significance of the bust above is unclear. 3. Practical Theology, holding a medallion in which is Christ preaching the Sermon on the Mount; below is Peter Lombard; above is a figure giving alms. 4. Devotional Theology, sitting in an attitude of adoration; below is Boethius, or perhaps Dionysius the Areopogite, and above is a woman teaching a child to pray. 5. Dogmatic Theology, holding a winnowing scoop and pointing upward to the source of true knowledge; below is Dionysius the Areopogite or Boethius about to write; above, a figure awaiting inspiration. 6. Mystic Theology, wearing a nun's veil to indicate her necessarily secluded life; below is St. John the Damascene; above, a woman reaching to two smaller figures - the meaning is unclear. 7. Polemic Theology, armed with bow and arrow; below is St. Augustine; above, a soldier. 8. Arithmetic, with a reckoning board on her knee; below is Pythagoras; above, a king. 9. Geometry, with her square; below is Euclid, above is a soldier, to whom Geometry is most useful. 10 Astronomy, holding a sphere with the zodiac; below is Zoroaster; above is Time with his sickle.

11. Music, with her organ; below is Tubal Cain; above, a young man drinking, thus suggesting the music of the feast. 12. Logic, holding a branch and scorpion; below is Aristotle, above, a philosopher writing. 13. Rhetoric, with a scroll; below Cicero, above, Truth with her mirror. 14. Grammar, instructing three children; below is Patrician; above is a figure looking at a fountain.

761

Lorenzo Monaco (1370? - 1425)

Coronation of the Virgin (1413)

Tempera on Wood. H. 16 ft., 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

The most obvious forerunner of Fra Angelico was Lorenzo Monaco, whose large altarpiece of the Coronation is one of the most significant examples of Gothic painting to be seen in Florence. It was painted for the high altar of the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, and it bears a long inscription which includes the name of the artist and the date 1413.

The composition of the wings of the triptych is continuous with that of the middle panel: the groups of saints are to be thought of as gathered to witness the Coronation of the Virgin; and the setting of the whole scene is on the arch of the starry firmament. Angels kneel in adoration about the figures of Christ and Mary, sing, swing censers, and one at the foot of the throne plays an accompaniment on an organ. The two saints most honored by the altarpiece, Benedict and Romualdo, flank the groups of saints at left and right and are distinguished by their prominent placing and by their white robes that contrast with the gay coloring of the other costumes. The other saints in the first two rows can be identified: Peter and John the Baptist follow Benedict in the front row at the left, Andrew and John the Evangelist are in the corresponding places at the right. In the second row are Stephen, Paul, Jacob, and Matthew at the left, and Lorenzo, Bartholomew, Augustine, and Giovanni Gualberto at the right. Of the other saints only the halos and parts of the faces are visible. The halos alone afford an interesting study. No two are alike, and all are beautifully designed and executed with the minute care of a miniaturist, which our artist really was.

The composition of the three main panels of the altarpiece is traditional. Lorenzo's originality appears only in the decorative effect, which is chiefly dependent upon pure, varied coloring, carefully arranged drapery lines, and rich variety of ornament, as in the halos and the borders of garments. The pinnacles, too, with Christ in a glory of cherubim, and the Annunciation offer little that is new. But the six little scenes in the predella, especially the four lateral ones, show us the real Lorenzo Monaco, the natural trend of his genius when he was comparatively unfettered by tradition. The subjects still have to do with the otherworldly, the miraculous, but they are given an earthly setting, and instead of the reserve and dignity of the main panels, a poetic, intimate quality pervades them.

The two middle scenes from the life of Christ, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi, being more traditional subjects than the others, are less personal in treatment. The Adoration of the Magi may well have been influenced by Bartolo di Fredi's large picture of this subject (no. 726). The arrangement of the Virgin, Joseph, and the first Magus is closely similar in the two versions. The other four panels of the predella depict events in the life of St. Benedict. At the extreme right is the resuscitation of a monk who had been killed during the building of Benedict's monastery on Monte Cassino. The story is simply and clearly told, as in all these predella panels. But the story is less fascinating than the harmony of colors and rhythmic play of line throughout the composition and the feeling of space, obtained even without linear perspective. Part of the second panel from the right depicts the story of a nun's stratagem to detain Benedict that he might discuss holy matters with her and her sisters. At his refusal to remain the nun prayed that his departure might be prevented. Her prayer was answered in the form of a terrific storm, and so we see the saint discoursing with the nuns while rain and hail beat upon the roof above them. The left section of

this panel represents two scenes in the story of the rescue of the monk Placidus from a whirlpool by Maurus at the instigation of Benedict. Most interesting of all is the part of the third panel that shows Benedict in his grotto in the desert receiving food let down to him by Brother Romanus. With very simple means, the half-length figures of the two holy men showing above the rocks and little clumps of shrubbery, Lorenzo has succeeded in giving a most charmingly romantic sense of a secluded spot in nature. There are other presages of the work of Filippo Lippi in Lorenzo Monaco's paintings, and this little scene is almost absolute evidence that the later artist found inspiration in Lorenzo for such a setting as the forest depths in the Adoration of the Child painted for the Medici Chapel (no. 779). The scene in the right section of Lorenzo's panel is from the story of Benedict's salvation of the wayward monk. The last panel shows the monks gathered about the bier of Benedict. Each figure is individualized and all are characterized by expressions of sincere grief.

Most of the framework of the great altarpiece has been renewed, but Lorenzo's small figures of prophets still remain at the sides.

Another example of Lorenzo Monaco's work now forms the termination of Fra Angelico's Deposition (no. 777). These three pinnacles, representing the Resurrection, the Three Maries at the Tomb, and the Noli Me Tangere, are a later addition to the altarpiece, which originally terminated in a horizontal line. They come, presumably, from some lost altarpiece and are to be classed among the finest works of the last five years of Lorenzo's life. As is usual in his paintings, the designs of these pinnacles are beautifully decorative, with fresh, clear colors and rhythmic lines. The forms show a tendency toward realism, and the drapery folds are remarkable for their breadth and plasticity.

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Gentile da Fabriano (c. 1360-1427)

Adoration of the Magi (1423)

Tempera on Wood. H. 7 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Realism is closely mingled with tradition in Gentile da Fabriano's masterpiece in the Uffizi. We have already noted the similarity of the composition and ornamental detail to that employed by Bartolo di Fredi (no. 726) half a century earlier at Siena. We need not look to Siena as the exclusive source of the rich decorative quality of this painting; Gentile probably learned from the Venetians quite as much about elaboration and richness of ornament as he took to them from his Sienese connections. He worked for some years in Venice before he painted the Uffizi Adoration of the Magi; and no artist of his tendencies could have worked in Venice without absorbing into his style some of the glow of the Venetian sky and some of the richness of the Oriental importations.

If there is some superficial likeness to Bartolo di Fredi in our picture, the essential character is wholly dissimilar. Gothic mannerism, stiffness, and awkwardness have given place to variety, grace, and charm. The kings and the members of their cortege are surely portraits. The turbaned figure seen full-face just behind the standing king has been accepted since Vasari's time as a portrait of Gentile himself. By contrast with the sumptuous equipment of the Magi, the Virgin's robes are simple and unadorned, a fit setting for her pure and gentle face that bends like a flower over her Babe. The motive of the Child placing His hand on the head of the aged king, who kisses the Babe's tiny feet, shows the sweet, intimate sentiment that characterizes Gentile's art - it is intimate but still aristocratic. One sees this most clearly in his paintings of the Madonna and Child alone, such as the panel of the Jarvis collection at New Haven or that in the Goldman collection in New York. With all his sweetness and gentleness, Gentile did not put much deep religious feeling into his work; the relationship between the Virgin and Child is human, not spiritual.

Realistic touches are noticeable throughout the Uffizi composition. Instead of having Joseph hold the gift presented by the kneeling king, as is

usually done, Gentile has given it to the Virgin's female attendants, who examine it inside and out and admire its beauty. A servant of one of the Magi, whose figure shows an interest in the contemporary experiments in foreshortening, crouches on the ground to remove the spurs from the shoes of the graceful young king, who forms the richest note in the picture. Other attendants talk and gesticulate. Monkeys clamber over the back of a camel. And a hunter with his dog follows a deer over a hill in the background.

Under the three arches of the frame, but still continuous with the rest of the composition, we see episodes from the journey of the Magi. In the arch at the left the Magi view the miraculous star from a mountain top and make preparations for their journey at the foot of the mountain. The little scene at the right of this lunette apparently has nothing to do with the story of the Magi but, like the hunter in the middle lunette and like the flowers and trees, rocks and buildings, is put in to help give the impression that the experience of the Magi was real, not just imaginary. It represents two soldiers bringing to the city gate an unarmed traveler whom they have overcome; they are awaited at the gate by a third soldier. In the middle lunette the large and brilliant cortege is approaching Jerusalem to consult Herod; conspicuous in the procession are the three kings, riding abreast, their splendid appearance made more brilliant by their golden halos. In the lunette at the right they are approaching Bethlehem.

In the pinnacles of the frame, which is original, are medallions containing Christ, the Virgin, and the Angel of the Annunciation. The predella, one part of which is now in the Louvre, represents in three panels the Nativity (no. 763), the Flight into Egypt, and the Presentation in the Temple.

We know that this masterpiece by Gentile was ordered by Palla Strozzi, who presented it to the church of S. Trinità in Florence. The inscription at the bottom of the main panel reads: OPVS GENTILIS DE FABRIANO MCCCCXXIII MENSIS MAII. The work reflects the contemporary fondness for glittering gold, jewels, and rich stuffs. It was painted when mystery plays were popular, and no doubt plays and painting exercised a mutual influence upon each other; certainly such a painting as this would be a rich mine for the designer of a pageant of the Epiphany.

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Gentile da Fabriano (c. 1360-1427)

Nativity (1423)

Tempera on Wood. H. c. 15 in.

Florence, Uffizi

It is not unusual, as we have pointed out, to find the predella of an altarpiece more advanced in style than the main section. The altarpiece is a formal and an important part of the ceremonial equipment of the church and must be as faithful to tradition as is the religious ceremony itself. A minor part of it, however, such as the predella, is only a commentary on the main subject and admits of more personal treatment.

A striking example of this fact is seen in the predella that Gentile painted for the Adoration of the Magi. In the Adoration panel (no. 762) the landscape, though not conspicuous, is treated with much interest in detail that reminds one of the work of the Van Eycks, who were painting the Ghent Altarpiece (no. 513) at this time. But in the predella Gentile has got closer to nature. In this little panel of the Nativity we can almost feel the crisp, fresh air of a moonlight night in winter. And there is an appealing, romantic quality in the whole composition, an expression of the mystery of nature and of human relationships. In this little painting the artist did not feel the necessity of impressing us with the importance of religion or with the wealth of his patron who ordered the altarpiece; he was giving vent to his poetic nature. The landscapes of the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt suggest that artists remarkable for breadth of feeling in landscape, such as Masaccio (cf. no. 771), may have drawn no little inspiration from Gentile da Fabriano.

Masolino (1384-1447)

Annunciation (c. 1420)

Tempera on Wood. H. 4 ft., 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

New York, Goldman Collection

Masolino da Panicale is, like Fra Angelico, traditionally considered to have been the pupil of a certain Gherardo Starnina, about whom we know little except that, trained in the atelier of Antonio Veneziano, who was possibly a collaborator of Agnolo Gaddi, he carried on the traditions of Giotto. Like Fra Angelico, too, Masolino was influenced by Lorenzo Monaco. But unlike Angelico, Masolino was unable to assimilate contemporary learning: realistic features seem out of place in his work; he is too conscious of them, and they lack proper subordination.

Masolino is at his best only when he paints in the traditional Gothic vein, as in the charming panel of the Annunciation in the Goldman collection. The sweetness of the figure types and the emphasis on linear design seem more Sienese than Florentine. The gay, brilliant coloring, too, seems un-Florentine. The robe of the angel is especially striking, a deep red brocaded with golden flowers. It prepares us for Masolino's increasing interest in the gay contemporary costume, which was finding its way into the paintings of other artists as well.

Masolino (1384-1447)

Baptism of Christ, St. John Preaching, and St. John before Herod (1435)

Fresco

Castiglione d'Olona, Baptistery

Masolino's inability - or perhaps we should say lack of desire - to assimilate contemporary tendencies is well illustrated by his work in the baptistery at Castiglione d'Olona, a little town at the foot of the Alps where he had worked some ten years earlier in the newly erected church. The scene of the Baptism, for example, is a combination of details that are interesting in themselves but are not worked into a harmonious composition. The lovely angels holding Christ's garments remind us at the same time of Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli; Christ Himself is suggestive of Perugino; the seminude figures in varied stages of dressing and undressing might even be imagined as containing the germs of Michelangelo's cartoon commemorating the battle of Pisa (no. 859). All these details reflect the tendencies of contemporary painting. Masolino's attitude toward them is that of a student, not of a master: he is so interested in the problems of the shivering person behind St. John and the nude bodies at the right that he fails to give them sufficient relationship to the subject and he makes them so large and prominent that the right side of the composition is much too heavy for the left.

The compositions in the lower zone (the dark horizontal band which we see is not a part of the fresco) are badly damaged. The figure nearest us in the scene of St. John preaching is so worn off that we see the lines of the rocky hill through it; it was apparently an afterthought, put on after the composition had been finished. There is a curious incongruity between the saint and his courtly audience, whose costumes are hardly suitable for a trip into the desert. The model for the Baptist must have come from some painting more than a century old; the members of his audience are copied from contemporary society, possibly indirectly, through some such painter as Gentile da Fabriano or Pisanello. Such artists are recalled, again, by the figures of Herod and Herodius in the composition at the right of the window.

Masolino (1384-1447)

Miracle of the Snow: Leaf of a Diptych (c. 1445)

Tempera on Wood. H. 4 ft., 8½ in.

Naples, National Museum

There is a pretty legend of the foundation of the church of S. Maria ad Nives in Rome (later transformed into S. Maria Maggiore) which runs as follows: On the night of August 4, 352, the Virgin appeared to Pope Liberius and the patrician Giovanni and conducted them in a dream to a place covered by miraculously fallen snow and ordered them to build there a church in honor of herself. Two or three pictorial versions of the subject once existed at S. Maria Maggiore. The panel at Naples (where there is also an associated panel of the Assumption) is probably identical with the one described by Vasari as seen by himself, together with Michelangelo, in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. Perhaps it is, as some think, one of the panels from a lost ancona that stood on the altar of the Colonna Chapel in the church. The picture has been cut down and considerably retouched: the original cusped termination has been covered with boards, the background has been regilded, the outline in the snow has been remade, there is an ugly round patch just above the heads in the background, and heads and draperies have been retouched in places.

The scene of the foundation is laid in a courtyard, with open loggias to left and right and a landscape in the distant background. This landscape comprises the southwest view from the companile of S. Maria Maggiore: a conspicuous landmark is the Pyramid of Cestus. In the left foreground the pope, wearing the tiera and other papal vestments, is tracing the ground plan of the basilica in the snow. He is accompanied by a fat puggy patrician, who holds the end of the papal mantle. A large crowd of churchmen and laity have gathered to witness the event. There are also heavenly witnesses: Christ and the Virgin appear above the clouds giving their sanction and blessing.

Our dating of the picture around 1445 is not at all certain; the success of the composition would seem to indicate a late period in Masolino's career, but the serene grace of the figures, the sweetness of expression and rich melody of colors, red, rose, green, and azure, might fit better, perhaps, in his early career, to which Mr. Goldman's Annunciation has been attributed. If Vasari was right in recognizing in the face of the pope the features of Martin V, the earlier date would be plausible. Certain it is that there is a good deal of suggestion of Masaccio, especially in the dignified figure of Christ, so that it is not altogether surprising that the picture has been considered by some to be an early work by that master.

Masaccio (1401-1428)

Madonna and St. Anne with Angels (c. 1420)

Tempera on Wood. H. 5 ft., 9 in.

Florence, Uffizi

In Leonardo's Treatise on Painting we find this passage: "The painter will produce pictures of small merit if he takes for his standard the pictures of others. But if he will study from natural objects he will bear good fruit, as was seen in the painters after the Romans, who always imitated each other, and so their art declined from age to age. After these came Giotto, the Florentine, who - not content with imitating the works of Cimabue, his master - being born in the mountains and in a solitude inhabited only by goats and such beasts, and being guided by nature to his art, began by drawing on the rocks the movements of the goats of which he was keeper. And thus he began to draw all the animals which were to be found in the country, and in such wise that after much study he excelled not only all the masters of his time but all those of many bygone ages. Afterwards this art declined again, because everyone imitated the pictures that were already done. Thus it went on from century

to century until Tomaso, of Florence, nicknamed Masaccio, showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard any one but nature - the mistress of all masters - weary themselves in vain."

No one has ever disagreed with Leonardo in his high evaluation of Masaccio. The Brancacci Chapel was as popular with artists of Masaccio's time and later as the Arena Chapel and the chapels of S. Croce were with artists a century earlier. In a decade Masaccio developed a style that only the most recent schools of painting have made old-fashioned. As Franklin discovered electricity, though he was not a master of its complicated science and never dreamed of the numerous exploitations later to be made of it, so Masaccio discovered aerial perspective and heroic expression in painting, setting the theme to the development of which the best geniuses of the Renaissance were devoted: Piero della Francesca's studies of light start from Masaccio as do Michelangelo's conceptions of the human figure. The continued study of light has led to the luministic and impressionistic movements in modern art, and no monumental figure decorates a modern public building that is not influenced, even if unconsciously and indirectly, by Masaccio.

In his early tempera panel of the Madonna with St. Anne, painted for the church of S. Ambrogio in Florence, Masaccio did not entirely forsake his Gothic predecessors. The lovely angels hovering about the throne, touching the rich brocade with reverent hands, recall the altarpieces of the age of Duccio and Giotto. And Giotto must have been much studied by Masaccio before he painted these simple, massive figures of the Virgin and Child seated between the knees of St. Anne. But contemporary sculptors were probably even more influential in the development of this solid, tridimensional style. These forms are as solidly built and as firmly placed as is Donatello's St. George, whose beautifully poised head is equaled by that of the Virgin in our picture. The solid effect of the figures is enhanced by the pyramidal composition and by the broad vertical folds of the draperies.

The formal conception of the panel is not superior to the psychical: the transition from one form to another is echoed in the transition from one expression to another. St. Anne's face, thrown into shadow by her closely drawn veil, is like that of a sibyl, looking down with tender, prophetic understanding upon the group of Mother and Child. The Virgin, erect and patient, looks into the distance, ready, as the handmaid of God, to accept whatever joy or sorrow He may see fit to send. The little Child, full of life and movement, is the culmination of the other two lives: they have existed that great deeds may be done by Him. Over His restless head is the brooding hand of St. Anne. The gesture is so beautiful that Leonardo repeated it in the Virgin of the Rocks (no. 807).

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Masaccio (1401-1428)

The Trinity with the Virgin, St. John, and Donors (c. 1427)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, S. Maria Novella

Fresco is the medium suited to Masaccio's broad, majestic style, and it is the medium of most of his preserved works. In the church of S. Maria Novella, at Florence, he painted an original version of the Trinity, which was believed to be lost until it was brought to light during a restoration of the church in the last century. When first found it was in good condition, but subsequent removal from the entrance wall to a place at the left of the main door caused considerable damage as has also some retouching.

The traditional rendering of the Trinity required the sky for background; the mystic vision was conceived as appearing in the heavens. Masaccio has brought it down close to humanity, placed it in a chapel, where the donors can approach, with only the intercessors St. John and the Virgin between them and the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The architectural setting can be thought of as a chapel projection from the main body of S. Maria Novella; it is elaborately represented, probably from a drawing by Brunelleschi: certainly it is the type of classical architecture that Brunelleschi was making popular at this time,

and it is even probable that the great architect collaborated with Masaccio in the production of this picture. Just outside the realistic chapel kneel the unknown donors, a man and his wife, life-size in scale, and so realistic in feature that they seem to be members of the congregation who have come here and knelt to adore the Trinity. Christ and God the Father, especially the latter, are more idealistically conceived, and the Virgin and St. John represent a transition between the spirituality of the Trinity and the reality of the donors and the congregation.

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Masaccio (1401-1428) and Masolino (1384-1447)

St. Peter Healing the Cripple and Raising Tabitha (c. 1425)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

When Masaccio came, about 1424, to paint in the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmelite church at Florence, his master Masolino had already decorated the vault and lunettes with frescoes that have been destroyed. Of the twelve pictures that may now be seen in two rows on the walls, the share of Filippino Lippi, who completed the work more than half a century later, is pretty definitely known (see nos. 773,832); but the shares of Masolino and Masaccio are much disputed. Some critics believe Masolino responsible for three of the pictures in the upper row; others think he is represented in none of the extant work of the chapel, and that the difference in style between the various pictures attributable to Masaccio is due merely to development in his style and a year's suspension of the work. There is a distinct disparity in style. The three pictures sometimes assigned to Masolino are less atmospheric, less sober in color, less restrained in facial expression, and less dignified and massive in figure representation; but at the same time they are superior to the frescoes that we know by Masolino, such as those in the baptistery at Castiglione d'Olona (no. 765), painted ten years later.

A third possibility is that Masolino and Masaccio worked together on some of the compositions. Following that hypothesis, we could imagine the older, weaker artist responsible for all that falls short of Masaccio's standard in the miracle scenes reproduced in our photograph, for the grimacing faces and exaggerated gestures of the witnesses of the resuscitation of Tabitha and for the incongruous introduction of the two young men of fashion who walk across the open space in the middle of the picture, engaged in pleasant conversation, oblivious of the miracles being enacted at either side. The splendid forms of St. Peter and his followers are certainly worthy of Masaccio. And the excellently drawn architecture in the background would normally be counted in the share of this master, who showed himself a close student of Brunelleschi a couple of years later (cf. no. 768).

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Masaccio (1401-1428)

St. Peter Baptizing (c. 1427)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

The gulf that separates Masolino from Masaccio may be realized by contrasting the Baptism at Castiglione d'Olona (no. 765) with the version in the Brancacci Chapel. The wonder is not that Masolino could have so far surpassed himself when he was working in the Carmelite church, where he had the inspiration of his gifted pupil, but that after association with that pupil he could have been carried away by such trifling details as he concerned himself with in the Castiglione fresco. But even Masaccio could not resist a little overemphasis on the distracting motive of the shivering nude in his fresco.

Masaccio's Baptism is eloquent with the prophecy of Michelangelo. Line and color are wholly subordinate to form expressed in terms of light and shade. These figures stand out like sculpture in the round. And the towering mountains of the background shut out all disturbing views and center the attention upon the compact company of witnesses and baptismal candidates and the noble figure of St. Peter, who with a dignity of gesture worthy of his mission pours water upon the bowed head of the man kneeling in the stream.

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Masaccio (1401-1428)

The Tribute Money (c. 1427)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

The most remarkable composition in the Brancacci series tells the story of the tribute money. Matthew recounts it simply: "And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and thee." Masaccio has divided the story into three episodes but has enclosed them all in one frame and has welded them into a marvelous composition that even Raphael never surpassed. In the middle the taxgatherer comes before Christ and his disciples demanding the payment of taxes. St. Peter, to whom Christ has pointed out the injustice of the demand, expresses fiery indignation at the collector's insistence and at the same time surprise at Christ's indication of the source from which the money is to come. With all his impetuosity, we can count on his eventual obedience of Christ: in the distance at the left we see him bending over a stream, taking the coin from a fish's mouth. At the right of the picture he is giving the money to the collector, who, though he has been surprised and incredulous at Christ's words, does not hesitate to accept the money, whatever its source.

The two supplementary scenes, left and right, are given formal relation to the main scene by the gesture of Peter on the one side and the gesture of the collector on the other. Christ is the controlling figure of the whole composition. The collector and St. Peter seem ready to fly at each other's throats. The other disciples look to their Master; everything depends on Him; and He is equal to the emergency. With absolute calmness and surety He comes forward. We do not need His words to understand that He has given the solution: His gesture, His whole bearing tell us that. Such significance of gesture as we see in this picture has probably never again been attained save in Leonardo's Last Supper (no. 809).

Masaccio has chosen to tell the whole story in the out-of-doors. This group of mighty men would have found any interior stifling; they need space; in heaped up mountains and in strong, weathered trees their spirit finds echo. The landscape is kept very simple and unobtrusive, yet when examined in detail it is full of realism, each object modeled with care and the trees and mountains dimmed more and more by the intervening atmosphere as they recede into the distance.

It is interesting to have in this picture a portrait of the painter. Masaccio has given his own features to the disciple at the extreme right of the middle group, a strong, alert young man. This portrait satisfies our expectations: it represents a man who thinks for himself and, as Leonardo says, goes to nature for his models.

Masaccio (1401-1428)

The Expulsion (c. 1427)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

Epic grandeur characterizes the Tribute Money; tragic emotion rings from the representation of the Expulsion from Paradise. Out of the gate of paradise stumble Adam and Eve, driven on by God's messenger, an angel with flaming sword, whose necessarily harsh, relentless action is tempered by the pitying gaze he casts on the original sinners. Remorse and shame outweigh self-pity in the man's reaction to the punishment; the woman is wholly given up to despair. Yet the total effect is dignified, because Masaccio has employed simple technical means and has generalized the expressions of remorse and despair. Because he knew nature so well, he did not need to linger over little details: Adam's right leg looks almost as if it had been made by a single stroke of a broad brush wielded by one who knew precisely where to put the extra pressure to get the correct modulation of light and shade. There is no wringing of hands or tearing of hair; the restraint under which the emotion is held is the more expressive of the inevitableness and the tragedy of human suffering.

The Brancacci Chapel is dedicated to St. Peter, and all the decorations deal with his life except this panel of the Expulsion at one side of the entrance and its companion piece at the other. The companion panel representing the Temptation in the Garden, is one of the frescoes involved in the Masolino versus Masaccio dispute. It is much stiffer and more academic than the composition we have just studied.

Masaccio (1401-1428) and Filippino Lippi (1457-1504)

Resurrection of the Prince of Tyre and St. Peter Enthroned (c.1427 and 1484)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

This last picture on which Masaccio worked in the Brancacci Chapel might have equalled the earlier ones if he could have finished it, but he was suddenly called to Rome, and the scene of the Raising of the King's Son was not completed until 1484, when Filippino Lippi took up the work, probably following, in some measure, Masaccio's designs. The younger artist's part in this composition includes the nude boy, a number of the spectators behind him, and some of the figures at the extreme left of the picture. Filippino has followed his usual practice (cf. nos. 832-834) and painted portraits of his contemporaries to stand as witnesses of the miracle.

The story represented is taken from the Golden Legend. King Theophilus, who had thrown St. Peter into prison, agreed to release him on condition that the apostle would bring to life the king's son, who had been dead fourteen years. Having met the challenge, St. Peter was given a splendid throne in the midst of a church reared by the people. So we see him enthroned at the right in the Brancacci fresco, adored by three kneeling figures. In a niche at the left King Theophilus is enthroned, witnessing the resurrection of his son. As in the other frescoes, the figure of St. Peter is here noble and majestic, but the large group of portraits is somewhat distracting.

Angelico, Fra (1387-1455)

Monks Receiving Christ as Pilgrim: Lunette over Door of Hospice (c. 1440)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Marco, First Cloister

The work of Fra Angelico may be considered as a kind of link between the conservative, Gothic art of Lorenzo Monaco and the progressive, Renaissance art of Masaccio. One thinks this, at least, if one is determined to look at history as a continuous development. As a matter of fact, we probably come nearer the truth if we consider history as discontinuous, if we recognize that a genius shoots up now and then without having the road thoroughly prepared for him, and that, as we noted in the case of Masaccio, centuries are sometimes required for others to catch up. Some do not try to catch up: Fra Angelico knew the work of Masaccio; certain of his paintings show clearly that he recognized the value of Masaccio's discoveries, but those scientific accomplishments would have hindered, rather than helped, the painter-monk in attaining his particular aim. Rather than give up his ideals of fresh, pure coloring and mystic, spiritual expression that won him the nickname of Angelico, he ignored much of the scientific progress of his day.

In his early paintings, such as the panel with the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi in the Hospice of S. Marco, this spiritual quality appears in its most unadulterated form, in the sensitive, delicate figures, that stand out in jewel-like coloring against a gold background.

By the time he came to work in the Dominican convent of S. Marco at Florence, around 1440, Fra Angelico had assimilated more from his contemporaries. We notice it especially in the roundness of his figures. But his backgrounds are still comparable to the early gold grounds: they are usually in flat colors, without architectural or landscape details. And even though the figures show an understanding of nature, there is nothing gross or wordly in the expressions of faces or attitudes of bodies. Fra Angelico was from early manhood a member of this Dominican order, a thoroughly sincere and devout member, so, with his great technical ability, he was able to give a sympathetic interpretation of the feelings and beliefs of his fellow monks.

In this lunette over the door leading into the hospice, or guest house, we see the Christian spirit of hospitality extended by the Dominicans to strangers in a literal illustration of Christ's words: "I was a stranger, and ye took me in." Christ, weary from travel, dressed in the hair cloak of the pilgrim, with the pilgrim's hat hanging behind His shoulders, and the staff in His hand, is eagerly received by two Dominicans. Hospitality and divinity seem here to reach the most perfect expression. And the means of expression are as simple and dignified as even Giotto could have employed. There is not a superfluous detail - just these three figures who tell their story by a touch of the hand and a glance of the eye.

Angelico, Fra (1387-1455)

Annunciation (c. 1440)

Fresco. Figures c. Three-Fourths Life-Size

Florence, S. Marco, Dormitory

Unlike most of the S. Marco frescoes in that it has a detailed architectural setting is the Annunciation in the dormitory. We are constantly struck by the fact that though spiritual in feeling Fra Angelico had his eyes open to the world about him. He appreciated the beautiful as well as the pure and holy, or perhaps we might better say that he saw the pure and holy in the beautiful. Ugly things he could not represent: he utterly failed when he attempted to portray the unrepentant thief in the scene of the Crucifixion (no. 776), and the hell in his Last Judgment is uninteresting; the bliss of

paradise is his proper theme. In this Annunciation his eye has been attracted by the grace and lightness of a Renaissance loggia and its adjoining garden. The setting is in perfect harmony with the lovely Virgin and Gabriel, who are wholly occupied with the delivery and reception of the message of annunciation; and the intentness of the communion between these two figures draws our attention like a magnet away from all accessory details that might otherwise be distracting.

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Angelico, Fra (1387-1455)

Mystical Crucifixion (c. 1440)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, S. Marco, Chapter House

Mysticism and meditation take the place of tragedy in Fra Angelico's portrayal of such subjects as the Crucifixion. Cimabue might show the figures tossed as by a whirlwind (no. 741), but Fra Angelico treats the scene as a symbol of Christ's sacrifice. The great painting in the Chapter House of S. Marco, the largest painting ever done by Angelico, forms a striking contrast with usual treatments of the theme of the Crucifixion. The red and orange sky gives a tragic touch, whether intentional we do not know: some think the picture was left unfinished or that the final layer of blue has disappeared. There is no agitation of the crucified figures; the unrepentant thief cries out, to be sure, but not very effectively; for irreligious feeling was so foreign to Fra Angelico that he could not represent it. Beneath the crosses we have no company of Roman soldiers. Their place is taken by saints of all ages, who are conceived as witnessing a miraculous vision of the Crucifixion, of which the group of Holy Women and the Beloved Disciple form a part. At the left of the group of Holy Women are Sts. Cosmo and Damian (patron saints of the Medici family, who provided the money for building the Dominican convent of S. Marco), and Sts. Lawrence, Mark, and John the Baptist. St. Dominic, founder of the Dominican order, kneels at the foot of the cross of Christ. Behind him come Sts. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, Francis, Benedict, Romualdo, John Gualberto, Thomas Aquinas, and Peter Martyr. The traditional character of these saints is more perfectly presented in these figures, perhaps, than in the work of any other artist. To the vision of the Crucifixion the saints show various emotional reactions, but the prevailing mood is one of worshipful contemplation.

In the simulated frame around the arch of the picture are busts of prophets holding scrolls. Fra Angelico must have thought of these scrolls extending out into the picture as taking the place of the fluttering angels so common in earlier representations of the theme (cf. nos. 715, 741). In the bottom border, which forms a kind of predella, St. Dominic occupies the middle medallion, and other illustrious Dominicans are shown at either side.

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Angelico, Fra (1387-1455)

Deposition (c. 1441-1446)

Pinnacles Taken from an Earlier Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco (c.1370-1425)

Tempera on Wood. H. 9 ft.

Florence, S. Marco, Hospice

Aside from the work for the convent of S. Marco, one of the most important commissions which Fra Angelico executed in Florence was the great altarpiece of the Deposition for the sacristy of S. Trinita, now in the museum, or hospice, of S. Marco. The pinnacles come from an earlier altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco: the Resurrection is in the middle pinnacle; at the left the Saviour appears to the Magdelene in the guise of a gardener; at the right are the Holy Women at the sepulcher. The saints in the pilasters at either side of the picture are

Angelico's. The Deposition itself is one of the masterpieces of his mature period.

Coming before this picture fresh from a study of the frescoes of S. Marco, we are struck by a sharp contrast. The contrast is partly due to the fact that the convent decorations were made in a more introspective mood. Working in the rooms of his own convent, painting pictures that were to be looked at by monks in prayer and meditation, Fra Angelico tended to exclude the distracting things of the world; so we have the flat background in most cases. When his problem was to produce a work to be seen by people in touch with the world, he used a setting with which they would be familiar, he painted nature and the works of man, as his contemporary artists were doing. So we have flowers, trees, clouds, distant hills, and buildings. But the contrast between the convent decorations and the Deposition is due also to the difference in technique. Fresco is adapted to broad, monumental effects; tempera lends itself to a miniature-like treatment. Not only is the setting of the Deposition filled with elaborate detail, the figures, too, are minutely painted. In the photograph the composition seems confused; but in the painting the lovely, pure colors clarify the design by distinguishing the main elements from accessories.

Details of this picture explain how Fra Angelico, the painter of sweet, spiritual expressions, avoided sentimentality. In spite of his spirituality, he had his feet firmly planted on the earth: the figure of Christ shows an understanding of anatomy and modeling; the fine figure at the extreme left shows a mastery of monumental effect, inimical to pettiness and sentimentality. Masaccio must have taught Fra Angelico much of monumental treatment; this splendid, broadly-draped figure might have come right out of the Brancacci Chapel (cf. no. 771), of which we are reminded also by the figure in the large dark hat at the right. Several of the figures might be portraits, the one sitting on the ladder and talking with the disciple below certainly is: plausible tradition interprets this as the portrait of Michelozzo, architect of the convent of S. Marco.

American collections have a number of beautiful examples of Fra Angelico's work in tempera. Particular favorites are the tiny jewel-like Madonna in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the larger Madonnas in the Gardner Museum and Morgan collection.

778

Angelico, Fra (1387-1455)

St. Lawrence Giving Alms: Scene from Life of St. Lawrence (1447-1449)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Chapel of Nicholas V

Fra Angelico's greatest concessions to contemporary taste were made in his work in the chapel of Pope Nicholas V in the Vatican. Scenes from the life of St. Stephen are depicted in the lunettes of the upper zone of three walls of this room; scenes from the life of St. Lawrence are in the zone below. Saints in panels and the four evangelists on the ceiling complete the decoration. Everywhere we see elaborate settings and carefully modeled figures. In the scene of St. Lawrence distributing alms the saint stands at the entrance of a basilica, with a view the whole length of the middle aisle, to the apse. He is a fine, monumental figure that reminds us, again, of Masaccio's work in the Brancacci Chapel (cf. no. 771). Dressed in the vestments of a subdeacon, the saint has just come out of the church with a bag of money from which he gives to the poor and crippled beggars who flock about the doors of the church just as they still do in Italy. The pious, expectant expression, usually an assumed mask with the real beggar, is sincere in Angelico's painting: these unfortunates will be thankful for their pittance and will not turn and curse the giver because he has not given more. All the figures are so realistic that they seem to have been copied from life, but by one who sees only the good and the beautiful, so that there is nothing gruesome or loathsome in the scene; even beggars become beautiful under the sympathetic brush of the angelic master. Thus, in spite of the realism, it is still the spiritual quality of the work that dominates, aided not a little by the pure colors.

Coming into this small room from the round of grand, impressive decorations of other rooms of the Vatican, Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel and the stanze of Raphael, one feels that here is a place to rest and meditate.

779

Lippi, Fra Filippo (c. 1400-1469)

Madonna Adoring the Christ Child (p. 1435)

Tempera on Wood. H. 4 ft., 2 in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

It is remarkable that artists so dissimilar in intention as Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi should produce works that are in some respects so similar. Fra Angelico was devoted throughout his life to the religious ideals of his Dominican vows. He was so intent in all his art upon spiritual expression that even the realistic forms that he could hardly avoid acquiring from progressive contemporaries detracted little from the spiritual effect of his pictures. Fra Filippo denounced his Carmelite vows at the first opportunity. He was so engrossed with naturalistic, earthly expression that even the flat, unnatural forms that his careless lapses sometimes admitted did not suffice to destroy the realistic impression of his work. But the paintings of both artists exert a strong appeal in their purity of coloring and sweetness of figure and facial types. Both Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo belonged to that group of conservative artists who were not willing to sacrifice light, joyous coloring for the sake of the dignity and depth that Masaccio obtained with dull, opaque shadows.

For sheer loveliness there is nothing finer than the altarpiece of the Madonna Adoring the Child which Filippo made for the private chapel in the Medici palace at Florence. All the sweetness of the young earthly mother is expressed in this Virgin looking with tender solicitude at her Infant. And the Child is just a chubby blond babe that appeals to all motherly instinct. The little St. John, Joseph, and God the Father are equally human types. It was natural for this painter who was so fond of life to place the Adoration scene in the out-of-doors. The rocky landscape is as fundamentally conventional as those common in the fourteenth century (cf. no. 746), but Filippo has given a sense of romantic charm in the suggestion of forest depths in the middle of the picture, and his delight in the intimate details of nature finds expression in the minute portrayal of flowers in the foreground.

780

Lippi, Fra Filippo (c. 1400-1469)

Coronation of the Virgin (Finished in 1441)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 3½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

For the full contrast between Fra Filippo and Fra Angelico one should compare this painting of the Coronation with Angelico's versions of the subject. It was a congenial theme to the Dominican friar, who delighted in its mystic significance; to express the supreme spiritual joy of the event he used his most beautiful harmonies of blues and pinks, his precious gold, and he filled the faces of the assembled hosts with beatific expressions. Fra Filippo brought the scene to earth, transformed it into a festive event of hardly graver moment than the crowning of a May queen. The composition may be based on one of Fra Angelico's Coronations, but the attractive people of Florence furnished the models for the individual figures. This is just a gathering of beautiful girls and men and women. Halos are but dimly drawn about the heads, and rose garlands are given greater prominence than the halos on the heads of the girls in the background who pose as angels, carrying the lilies of Florence, or singing their sweet songs to accompany the ceremony. Some of the figures, as God the Father, St. Ambrose,

at the left, and St. John the Baptist, at the right, are of a dignity that reminds us that Fra Filippo was trained in the Brancacci Chapel, if not as a direct pupil of Masaccio, at least as a close observer. In the foreground are portraits of Florentine contemporaries. Fra Filippo himself kneels beside St. John the Baptist. He is singled out by an inscription held up by an angel: "Is perfecit opus," "He executed the work." Filippo holds his hands in an attitude of adoration, but in reality he is feasting his eyes on the pretty young women gathered in the middle of the scene. Two other monks at the left, under the protection of St. Ambrose, are hardly more concerned with the religious theme.

One cannot help indulging in a little speculation as to the perverse effect this picture must have had upon the nuns of the convent of S. Ambrogio, for whom it was painted. It is a forerunner of those pictures that Savonarola condemned: "The youth go about saying, 'Look, there's the Magdalene, and that other is St. John;' for you are having figures painted in the churches to resemble this person and that person. This is a very bad thing and sharply opposed to the interest of God. You painters are doing evil, and if you knew the scandalous results and what I myself know, you would not paint these figures. It is you who are establishing all the vanities in the church."

781

Lippi, Fra Filippo (c. 1400-1469)

Madonna (c. 1455)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 11½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Romantic interest enhances the appeal of this, perhaps the finest of Fra Filippo's small panels. Plausible tradition has it that Lucrezia Buti was the model for this pale young Madonna. She was the nun whom Fra Filippo enticed away from her convent and whom he subsequently married through the indulgence of Pope Pius II, who relieved both nun and monk of their religious vows. Lucrezia bore children to Filippo, and it is not unreasonable to see in the face of this chubby Christ Child, held up to the mother by two angels, some resemblance to the portrait of the painter that we have in the Coronation (no. 780). In any case, all the figures give a strong impression of actuality. Not only are the mother's costume and the arm of the chair represented with great detail and the faces drawn with portrait-like attention to individual peculiarities, but the motive of holding up the Child and the expressions of the faces give a playful, familiar tone to the picture.

The group is placed before an open window, through which is a view of a rocky landscape of the type used later by Leonardo (no. 811). The general effect of the composition is similar to that of the bas reliefs of contemporary sculptors. We are reminded, for example, of Donatello's relief in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The sharp contours and slight shading of the nude parts are largely responsible for the effect; the chubby, mischievous children who pose as Christ and angels might almost be taken from reliefs by Donatello.

782

Lippi, Fra Filippo (c. 1400-1469)

Funeral of St. Stephen (c. 1464)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Prato, Collegiata

Fra Filippo's most influential work was the series of frescoes which he began in 1452 in the choir of the Collegiata at Prato. The principal decorations are on the two parallel walls, lighted by the great stained-glass window at the end of the choir. On one side are scenes from the life of John the Baptist, on the other, scenes from the life of Stephen, patron saint of Prato.

The two principal periods of Fra Filippo's work on the frescoes were apparently 1452 to 1456 and 1464 to 1465. The Obsequies of St. Stephen belongs to the second period. It shows Filippo in his mature development, calm and sedate, a worthy but prosaic follower of Masaccio. He has taken the general form of Giotto's composition of the Death of St. Francis (no. 753), the picture divided into two halves by the bier, with groups of clergymen and mourners at head and foot. The composition is far less dramatic than Giotto's. Only the figures grouped close to the bier seem moved. All the others are portraits of contemporary Florentines; a number of them have been more or less convincingly named; for example, the dignified prelate at the right is said to be Carlo de' Medici and the large man just behind him is said to be Fra Filippo himself. The whole scene is conceived in such a realistic, matter-of-fact manner that it must have been based on the funeral of some eminent prelate contemporary with our artist. There is no aureole, no apparition, or any other supernatural sign. The ceremony takes place in the nave of a large basilica. The composition is helped by raising some of the flanking groups on low platforms (on the edge of the platform at the left is the artist's signature: FRATER. FILIPPUS. OP). With all his realism, it is interesting to see that Filippo has no more compunctions than a trecentist against linking together incongruous scenes. The out-of-door scene of the Stoning of St. Stephen breaks boldly into the walls of the basilica at the right side of the composition.

As for the influence of this work, it is sufficient to observe that Ghirlandaio (cf. nos. 813-817), the familiar representative, and the most prolific, of the narrative painters of the late fifteenth century, could have run his whole career with no other teaching than was offered by the frescoes at Prato.

783

Gozzoli, Benozzo (1420-1498)

The Journey of the Magi (c. 1469)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Florence, Riccardi Palace

Benozzo Gozzoli did not spend his time in scientific investigation. What he needed of the new art he took, what was useful to him in the older art he retained. He was a pupil of Fra Angelico, whose physical grace and festive coloring he used, like Fra Filippo (cf. no. 780), to portray the gaiety and richness of this world rather than the mysticism of paradise. It made no difference if religious subjects were still required. They were even better than secular subjects for such an artist as Gozzoli, because the license granted a religious painter admitted of imagined splendors transcending anything that was ever seen on land or sea. It made it possible for him to flatter his patrons by representing them as important actors in the religious scene, giving them a dignity and a richness of costume and equipment even greater than that which they could actually boast.

Gozzoli's most famous work, the frescoed decoration of the private chapel of the Medici in the Riccardi Palace at Florence, is undoubtedly based on rich Florentine pageants. When Gentile da Fabriano had composed in one panel (no. 762), Gozzoli elaborated and spread out over all the walls of the little chapel. Over the altar in the tribune was Fra Filippo's lovely Nativity (no. 779), now in Berlin. On the side walls of the tribune, as if adoring the Babe in that Nativity panel, Benozzo painted hosts of angels in a luxuriant landscape, kneeling, standing, gathering flowers, and flying through the air. Just outside, on the narrow spaces of the entrance wall of the tribune, shepherds on the mountains stand listening to the song of the angels. Around the three remaining walls of the chapel the procession of the Magi winds down through the fantastic landscape, coming to do homage to the Christ Child. There is no attempt to make the landscape forms naturalistic; very little use is made of contemporary development of aerial perspective. This is a fairy landscape, where Gozzoli's imagination has delighted in rich detail. Hunting scenes and the abundance of birds remind us of Uccello (cf. no. 784), whose interest in foreshortening seems also to have been shared by Gozzoli.

In the decoration of their own private chapel it is natural to find the Medici honored. Their portraits are conspicuous in the procession. The youth-

ful Lorenzo, later known as Lorenzo the Magnificent, figures as the most prominent Magus (shown at the right in our reproduction). Clad in a yellow, red, and gold tunic, a jeweled, crown-like headdress on his flowing curls, he rides his splendid white charger with aristocratic bearing. Piero, Giovanni, and Giuliano de' Medici are also recognized as members of the procession. The patriarch of Constantinople and John Palaeologus, Emperor of the East, pose as the other two Magi, for the Medici wished to commemorate the pageant connected with the council held in Florence in 1439 for the purpose of uniting the Greek and Latin churches.

In spite of all the criticism of these frescoes for their lack of seriousness, we find them wonderfully attractive; we enjoy their decorative quality as we enjoy a rich tapestry, and we enjoy their splendor and their gay, fantastic composition as we enjoy the unreality of a fairy tale. The appeal is analogous to that of Gentile da Fabriano's altarpiece (no. 762).

784

Uccello, Paolo (1397-1475)

The Rout of San Romano, 1432 (c. 1435)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft.

London, National Gallery

Paolo Doni, called Uccello (bird, probably so nicknamed because of his fondness for painting birds), was one of the first of the experimentalists among the Florentine painters who, inspired by Masaccio's discovery of new possibilities in the technique of painting, set about the scientific solution of problems of perspective, chiaroscuro, anatomy, and the like. Contemporary sculptors and architects had already solved some of the problems for their mediums, and were consequently much studied by the painters. Uccello served an apprenticeship in the shop of Ghiberti when that master was working on his second set of doors for the Florentine baptistery (no. 645).

Uccello was fascinated by the problem of perspective, of which Ghiberti's doors offered a sculptural solution that has remained the marvel of succeeding centuries. Artistic and subjective considerations were of secondary importance to Uccello; his pictures were painted for the sake of technical experiments. A typical example is the battle scene now in the National Gallery. It comes from a series of three scenes portraying the Rout of San Romano painted for the palace of Cosimo de' Medici, the other two of which are in the Uffizi and the Louvre. The National Gallery picture formed the left-hand section of the triple piece. It represents Niccolo da Tolentino, leader of the Florentine forces, directing the attack against the Sienese at San Romano. He is the figure in the middle foreground riding on a white charger. Behind him follow two knights bearing a standard on which is displayed the Knot of Solomon, the device of this condottiere. In the immediate background are orange and rose trees, and beyond them are gray-violet hills, on which archers run hither and thither.

The panoramic distance, the hedge of rose and orange trees, the forest of lances, the rich battle panoply, and the gay, flat colors give the picture a decorative effect like that of a tapestry. But the men and horses are clearly not of flesh and blood; they are wooden figures arranged to present a variety of problems in linear perspective. A soldier lies with his feet pointing toward us, one horse is seen from the rear, another three-quarters front, and broken weapons are thrown about on the ground at various angles. Uccello's preoccupation with the exact mathematical foreshortening of each of these details explains the popularity of stories of his fanatic devotion to his "dear perspective."

Uccello, Paolo (1397-1475)

Equestrian Portrait of Sir John Hawkwood (1436)

Fresco Transferred to Canvas. Above Life-Size

Florence, Cathedral

By the time Uccello painted the famous equestrian portrait of Sir John Hawkwood on the left entrance wall of S. Maria del Fiore, he had become a thorough master of foreshortening and was able, when forced, to produce a masterpiece in composition. One wishes his patrons had always been as concise and dictatorial as the cathedral council seems to have been in this case, requiring him to repaint the portrait when he had not suited them with his first essay. Hawkwood, the English captain of the Florentine army, is represented in full panoply, with baton of command, riding confidently forward. The dominant color is gray-green (terra verde), as the commission required, simulating marble sculpture - the original provision made in 1393 for a monument to Hawkwood seems to have intended a marble statue. The group is foreshortened so as to appear correct to the spectator standing far below on the floor of the church. (In the photograph, taken on a level with the painting, it appears slightly distorted.) The effect is very much that of a sculptured group raised on a marble sarcophagus that is in turn raised on a high base. The composition is the reflection in painting of the mediaeval tomb groups so much used in churches (cf. equestrian group of Emperor Conrad III at Bamberg, no. 412). It is usually assumed that Uccello had seen studies of horse and rider by Donatello, whose Gattamalata (no. 652) was cast some years later. It is more likely - though there is a natural aversion to the recognition of the influence of a lesser artist in the work of a greater - that Donatello was influenced by Uccello's masterpiece. Donatello would certainly have considered the painting worthy of emulation; some of the paintings in the Green Cloister of S. Maria Novella show Uccello to have been a painter of animals comparable to Jacopo Bellini.

It is interesting to turn back to Simone Martini's Guidoriccio (no. 711) to see how far Florentine naturalism has come from Sienese idealism.

The inscription on the sarcophagus in Uccello's fresco may be translated: "John Hawkwood, British knight, regarded as the shrewdest general of his time and the most skilled in military affairs." On the base below the sarcophagus is the artist's signature: PAVLI UCCELLI OPVS.

Uccello, Paolo (1397-1475)

The Deluge (c. 1446)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Great Cloister

Left free to choose his own treatment of his theme, Uccello's love of perspective ran riot again in the Old Testament scenes that he painted in the cloister of S. Maria Novella at Florence. As in the case of the Hawkwood portrait, the intention here was to obtain the effect of sculpture, using a gray-green monochrome, whence comes the name Green Cloister. The most interesting scene in the series is the Deluge, where we see Noah leaning out of his ark to receive the dove, numerous struggling figures fighting and snatching at every available object in the hope of saving themselves from the rising waters, dead bodies placed at angles interesting to the experimenter in foreshortening, and large objects, like the ark at the right and the indeterminate box-like construction at the left, arranged to give the most striking effect of perspective. The intention seems to have been to give in painting the same effect that Ghiberti was giving in sculpture in the east doors of the baptistery (no. 645): Ghiberti's sculpture is pictorial; Uccello's painting is sculptural; and the total effect is much the same, with the important exception that while Uccello was primarily interested in technical details, Ghiberti was primarily interested in the appearance of the whole, he was an artist first and a scien-

tist afterwards. The Deluge is full of interesting details. The bodies are good anatomical studies, rendered with sculptural solidity and properly foreshortened; lack of compositional clarity may have been intentional - all this confusion is useful in giving an idea of the physical upheaval of such a catastrophe.

787

Castagno, Andrea del (1390-1457)

Crucifixion (c. 1420?)

Fresco. H. 9 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

As Ghiberti's development of perspective in bas relief was an inspiration to Uccello, so Donatello's development of realism in free-standing sculpture was the great source of inspiration to Castagno. Castagno's types are coarser, less refined than Donatello's, a fact commonly advanced to show that Castagno used peasants for his models. Possibly he did. But he did not copy any models closely; he exaggerated physical peculiarities to make his figures more expressive.

This exaggeration to attain greater expressiveness is well illustrated by Castagno's Crucifixion in the Uffizi, a fresco taken from the suppressed monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli at Florence. It is probably one of the earliest extant paintings by this master; the date may be as early as 1420. It is not a historical presentation of the scene. Like Fra Angelico's great composition in S. Marco (no. 776), it is conceived as a mystic vision, here witnessed by two sanctified monks - the Virgin and John are part of the vision. Castagno seems to have lacked the finer sensibilities, so we do not expect any great spiritual stimulation from his presentation of a religious subject. The Christ is of interest for anatomical modeling. The monks at right and left afford beautiful drapery studies, as do also the Virgin and St. John, though the Virgin is of greater interest for facial expression. The exaggerated homeliness of her face and hands is almost repulsive and at the same time fascinating. The figure cannot be called realistic: the body is much too tall for the size of the head and the features are of exaggerated coarseness. It is an ideal representation of an old woman whose life of sorrow and unpaid toil has numbed her mental sensibilities, so that the new affliction only deepens the accustomed furrows in her face.

Against the flat background the figures of the Virgin and St. John, especially, are suggestive of wooden sculpture. A parallel for the Virgin may be seen in Donatello's Magdalene (no. 653). The same tradition of wood sculpture is echoed in the later realistically painted terra cotta groups, as in the Pieta by Mazzoni (no. 699).

788

Castagno, Andrea del (1390-1457)

Heroes and Heroines: from Villa Pandolfini, Legnaia (c. 1435)

Fresco Transferred to Canvas. Above Life-Size

Florence, Convent of S. Apollonia

Castagno had a subject most suited to his talent when he decorated the great hall of the Carducci family at Legnaia (taken over by the Pandolfini in 1475) with a series of figures of heroes and heroines. He covered the four walls with them, placing each figure in a frame painted to simulate a marble niche. Nine of these figures have been saved from the ruins and are now exhibited in the little museum in the convent of S. Apollonia at Florence. There are three female figures, the Cumean sibyl and queens Thomyris and Esther - the half-length representation is now placed over a door as it was in the original arrangement of the frescoes. The six male figures include three

soldiers and three poets: Farinata, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, and Filippo Scolari; Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. All are sculpturesque figures in harsh, unpleasant colors; armors seem made of actual steel, and the cloth draperies are scarcely less sculpturesque; even the faces seem metallic.

The most striking figure in the series is that of Filippo Scolari, called Pippo Spano, Florentine soldier of fortune, conqueror of the Turks, and one-time patron of Masolino (see p.). Castagno shows him standing with legs far apart, the scimitar, a Turkish weapon, in his hands, his pose confident, his expression thoughtful. The force and energy of the man are most convincingly represented. Force and energy are the characteristics always uppermost in Castagno's painting; he attains them through exaggerated coarseness of features, bold, sculpturesque modeling of forms, sharp angular contours, and animated poses.

789

Castagno, Andrea del (1390-1457)

David, Slayer of Goliath: Decoration on a Parade Shield (c. 1450?)

Oil on Leather. H. 3 ft., 9 in.

Philadelphia, Widener Collection

A more pictorial phase of Castagno's art is represented by the parade shield that is attributed to the late period of this master. It is the only example we have of the painted decoration of a shield by a great master. Castagno's pupil, Pollaiuolo, decorated one with a figure of Antaeus in relief that has come down to us, but we know of no other fine painted example. The rarity of the work, however, is a less important consideration than its aesthetic value. The youthful idealist is seen on a rocky eminence against an ominous cloud-flecked sky, his hair and short dress blown by the wind. He has just let fly a stone from his sling, and he looks after it anxiously: it is the thoughtful expression that we see in the S. Apollonia frescoes (no. 788), and the figure is equally confident. But there is an added note of poetic sentiment; force and energy are accompanied by beauty and grace.

That the head of Goliath should be lying between David's feet at the same time that he is letting fly the stone which killed the giant is not surprising to one familiar with Renaissance art, in which symbols are commonly used to designate the characters represented. This whole painting is probably symbolic in intent. The figure of David became the emblem of political independence in the later Florentine Republic; the subject is therefore appropriate for the decoration of a shield. The placing of the figure on a rocky eminence, where it is silhouetted against the sky, and the proportions of the figure, with elongated extremities, are peculiarities that we shall find again in the work of Castagno's pupil, Pollaiuolo (cf. nos. 790-792), to whom, indeed, the shield was at one time attributed.

790

Pollaiuolo, Antonio (c. 1432-1498)

Hercules and Antaeus (c. 1460)

Oil Transferred from Wood to Canvas. H. 16½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Antonio Pollaiuolo, like Uccello, served an apprenticeship in the atelier of the sculptor Ghiberti; men like Castagno were his ideals in the field of painting. He was essentially a sculptor when he expressed himself in oil as well as when he cast his figures in bronze. Like Castagno, he was interested in human anatomy; but while the older realist was content to study his figures standing still, even if alert, Pollaiuolo had to have them in violent activity, straining their muscles to the breaking point. Angularity and elasticity of contour lines fascinate and torture the observer. Looking at the little panel

of Hercules and Antaeus, one feels one's muscles tighten, and there is no outlet for the feeling, because the succeeding movement is not suggested.

It is quite evident that Pollaiuolo had inspiration outside that of contemporary sculpture and painting. We have had occasion to note the influence of Arretine pottery upon his bronze sculpture (see no. 670); Greek painted vases, too, were certainly studied by him. The emphasis on nervous, angular, elastic contour is a characteristic of the designs of fifth century vases. Pollaiuolo's subject matter even may well have been suggested in large part by such models. Greek vases, along with other examples of classical art, were being excavated at this time and some of them were acquired for the Medici collections, to which Pollaiuolo undoubtedly had access.

The Uffizi panel and its companion piece, Hercules and the Hydra, are small copies of two of the twelve deeds of Hercules that Pollaiuolo painted for the Medici. Such subjects apparently appealed to the people of the time: physical strength served as a symbol of their ideals of political and social power.

The topographical landscape which Baldovinetti made popular (cf. no. 795) stretches out into the background of the Uffizi panel. We may think of this mythological struggle as taking place on an eminence near Florence, for it is clearly the Arno valley of which we have a view. The placid scene serves as an excellent foil to the straining figures of Hercules and Antaeus. It is the moment when Hercules, having found his adversary, an earth divinity, invulnerable so long as he touches the ground, lifts him into the air and strangles him with terrific pressure around the waist.

791

Pollaiuolo, Antonio (c. 1432-1498)

Rape of Dejanira (c. 1467)

Oil Transferred from Wood to Canvas. H. 21 3/8 in.

New Haven, Conn., Jarvis Collection

The deeds of Hercules were favorite subjects with Greek vase painters. Pollaiuolo's painting in the Uffizi of Hercules Killing the Hydra reproduces a popular classical composition. The hero is given a similar strident attitude in the picture of the Rape of Dejanira. He is drawing his bow to shoot the centaur Nessus who, acting as ferryman, has turned traitor and is trying to escape with the wife of Hercules. The transparent, fluttering robe of Dejanira shows that Pollaiuolo was capable of delicacy when his subject called for it. The wide landscape is again a view of the Arno valley, this time with recognizable landmarks: it is the view from Signa toward Florence. The dome and campanile of the cathedral stand out conspicuously among the Florentine buildings.

Older books dismiss this painting with the comment that it is so badly repainted as to be unfit for study. When it came into the Jarvis collection this criticism was justified: the figure of Dejanira, for example, was entirely painted out. The repainting has all been removed and Pollaiuolo's original picture in quite perfect preservation has been successfully transferred from the old panel to canvas. It now appears as one of the fine examples of the master.

Pollaiuolo, Antonio (c. 1432-1498)

Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Finished in 1475)

Oil on Wood. H. 9 ft. 6 in.

London, National Gallery

Even in the religious subjects that Pollaiuolo's patronage sometimes demanded, he frankly admitted his controlling interests: study of anatomy, of movement, of sculptural effects. For the Pucci Chapel of SS. Annunziata he painted his well-known martyrdom of St. Sebastian, a subject ever favored by students of the nude figure because of the tradition of representing Sebastian as a young, fully developed man who receives the arrows in his uncovered flesh. Since his saintly fortitude made it possible for him to suffer pain without physical contortion, the body of any well-developed young man could serve as the artist's model.

Pollaiuolo has extended his anatomical studies to the executioners, one of whom, seen from the front, wears no more clothing than the saint himself. Action is the principal attraction of these figures; Pollaiuolo has studied their poise as they fix the arrows in the strings, stretch the bows, and let fly the arrows. Each of the three operations is represented by a pair of executioners, or rather by two views of the same figure and pose seen from two different angles. This peculiar arrangement is a result of Pollaiuolo's sculptural sense; he has tried to get in painting the tridimensional character of sculpture, and he has approximated in these figures of the executioners the effect that one gets by walking around a statue, looking at it from different viewpoints. The equestrian groups in the middle distance are treated in the same manner. The black and white horses with armored riders at the left are repeated in reverse view in the pair at the right. Again, it is the peaceful valley of the Arno that emphasizes by contrast the movement of the scene in the foreground (cf. nos. 790, 791). Florence lies in the distance at the left, and a ruined Roman arch nearer the foreground is a souvenir of Pollaiuolo's interest in the antique.

Veneziano, Domenico (Active 1438-1461)

Madonna with Sts. Francis, John the Baptist, Nicholas, and Lucy

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

The contribution of Domenico Veneziano to the development of a new art in Florence was a revision of tempera technique brought from his native Venice, whither it had come, possibly, from beyond the Alps. Precisely what his method was we do not know, but it is clear at least that he used an oil medium for glazing his pictures. His use of oil seems not to have been so extensive as that of the Van Eycks (cf. p.), but it did permit more alteration in the picture as the artist worked than the old tempera technique had permitted, so that it was possible to get a softer effect, with minute gradations of light and shade and with disappearing contours.

Little remains that can be definitely attributed to Domenico. The most considerable piece is the altarpiece from S. Lucia de' Magnoli at Florence, now in the Uffizi. An inscription on the base of the throne gives the artist's signature: OPUS DNICI. DE. VENETIIS. HO MATER DEI - MISERERE. MEI. - DATUM EST. Restoration is probably responsible for the harsh coloring; the forms remain satisfactory representations of Domenico. In the middle niche of an architectural screen, above which tree-tops appear, the Virgin is enthroned with the Child; Sts. Francis and John the Baptist stand at the left, Sts. Nicholas and Lucy, at the right.

The influence of Castagno is evident in some of the figures, especially in John the Baptist, whose pose, sculptural form, and coarse features might

almost have been done by that master. But instead of the forceful expression of Castagno, all the figures have a sweetness of expression, which in some of the faces, especially that of St. Nicholas, degenerates into weakness and stupidity.

The lovely profile head of St. Lucy at the right, a type related to those of Fra Angelico and Masolino, is significant because of its similarity to a number of profile portraits of women (cf. no. 794) that have long been more or less closely connected with Domenico. This striking profile treatment appears again in a panel in Berlin which comes from the predella of the Uffizi altarpiece. There three dainty figures, all in exact profile, are used to depict the Martyrdom of St. Lucy.

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Veneziano, Domenico (Active 1438-1461)

Portrait of a Lady

Tempera on Wood. H. 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Boston, Gardner Museum

The delicate conception of the female profile which we noted in the main panel and predella of the St. Lucy altarpiece (no. 793) finds its most beautiful expression in the well-known bust in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum. Scarcely less charming and very likely by Domenico himself is the example in the Gardner Museum. As always in these portraits, the head is kept in high tones throughout, modeled with scarcely any use of shadows. Placed in exact profile, against a dark background, it stands out like a cameo, and with its enamel-like surface, it appeals to our kinesthetic sense as well as to our vision. Contrasting with the cool enamel of the face and neck is the rich, soft texture of the brocaded velvet sleeve. This minutely drawn brocade, of which there are beautiful examples in the mantle of St. Nicholas and on the throne of the Virgin in the St. Lucy altarpiece, is a characteristic feature of these bust portraits.

795

Baldovinetti, Alesso (1425-1499)

Madonna (c. 1460)

Tempera on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6 in.

Paris, Louvre

Color harmonies and realistic representation of landscape occupied Baldovinetti's attention to such extent that, like many of his Florentine contemporaries, he often lost sight of the aesthetics of painting in his preoccupation with the craft. There were, however, happy moments of "perfect balance between his artistic temperament and his scientific spirit." The Louvre Madonna was painted at such a time. The color harmonies are beautiful and the delineation of the Arno valley stretching out in the background is one of the finest examples of that topographical landscape which continued to be used by Antonio Pollaiuolo (nos. 790-792), Verrocchio (no. 802), and, with some modification, even by Leonardo (no. 811). It is an innovation in the art of landscape painting; with Baldovinetti's SS. Annunziata Nativity this picture stands as one of the earliest successful paintings of great space.

But the landscape is only a setting for the lovely Madonna adoring her Child. Leonardo sensed not only the excellence of the landscape, but also the charm of the Madonna: in her dreamy expression is a hint of the mystery of the Mona Lisa (no. 811). The delicate modeling of face, neck, and hands, and the nude Child, kept in a high tonality, without deep shadows, shows the influence of Domenico Veneziano (no. 794).

Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Resurrection of Christ (1460)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Borgo S. Sepolcro, Palazzo del Comune

Piero della Francesca, Umbrian by birth, Florentine by training, was one of the great exponents of progress. His technical studies were truly scientific. He did not seek the solution of problems of perspective through numerous experiments in painting as Uccello did (cf. nos. 784-786); he worked out the laws of perspective from geometry. His book on perspective is the scientific exposition of his conclusions; his paintings are the artistic application. Having thoroughly mastered the science, he could use it as a tool rather than serve the science with his art. Piero's use of color shows his relationship to Domenico Veneziano and Baldovinetti (see nos. 793-795). He was associated with the former in some frescoed decorations in Florence; some think that, along with Baldovinetti, he was a pupil of Domenico. To the high tonalities of Domenico and Baldovinetti, Piero gave a softer, more pearly effect. His pictures do not, like theirs, remind us of enamel; there is too much atmosphere and light and shade for that. The atmosphere that Masaccio represented intuitively (cf. nos. 770, 771), Piero was now able to represent scientifically. His chiaroscuro was scarcely bettered - only used for a different purpose - by Leonardo.

All the outstanding characteristics of Piero's art are present in the powerful fresco of the Resurrection painted for his native town of Borgo S. Sepolcro. The irresistible power of the Christ is impressed upon all who see the picture. He is risen, indeed. There is no emphasis upon the religious emotions that accompany the event; the picture does not move us with feelings of joy and exultation. The inevitableness of His existence, the consciousness of His presence, petrifies all other emotions within us, as He stands here fixing us with his gaze. We are not concerned with the question of what He will do next, with His rising on out of the tomb. Piero's figures always seem sufficient as he has represented them; there is no suggestion that their pose is momentary.

Remarkable naturalism is displayed in the treatment of the soldiers who have fallen asleep as they are guarding the tomb. Armor and drapery are convincing in texture, the bodies are plastically modeled in light and shade, and the expressions of the faces turned toward us are true to life. The head seen full-face is said to be a portrait of the artist; it is remarkable at least for its expression of sleep.

As a foil to this sculptural pyramid of figures, realistic and factual, there spreads out behind it a landscape of poetic charm. Over the rolling Umbrian hills, dotted with trees and shrubs, the shades of night are being dispelled by the rising sun, which lights the group of figures in the foreground and is reflected in the western sky. Very lovely is the penciling of the barren branches at the left against that morning glow. The leafless trees may symbolize death, as those in full foliage at the right may suggest the resurrection.

Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Baptism of Christ: Part of Altarpiece from Borgo S. Sepolcro (c. 1460)

Tempera on Wood. H. 5 ft., 5½ in.

London, National Gallery

Again in the Baptism, which Piero painted for the Church of the Priors of St. John the Baptist at Borgo S. Sepolcro, sculptural figures stand solidly upon the ground, bathed in pearly light. The composition is more complicated than that of the Resurrection: besides the figures in the immediate

foreground, there is a man further back who is preparing for baptism, and still further away is a group of spectators, whose forms are reflected in the placid water. The space between the figures is convincingly suggested, diminution in clarity due to intervening atmosphere keeps pace with diminution in size. The lovely blond angels, fresh peasant girls come up from their homes at the foot of the hills, are characteristic types in Piero's paintings. The minute, naturalistic drawing of the flowers and plants in the foreground, the detailed representation of the foliage of the tall pomegranate trees, and the decorative effect of the light shining through them will be seen again in the work of the school of Verrocchio (cf. nos. 802-804).

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Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Solomon and the Queen of Sheba: Scene from Legend of the Holy Cross (1465)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Arezzo, S. Francesco

Piero's greatest achievement was the decoration of the choir in the church of S. Francesco at Arezzo. When the commission for the work was given to him by Luigi Bacci, a prominent citizen of Arezzo, the ceiling of the choir had already been painted with figures of the evangelists by a minor artist, Bicci di Lorenzo. Piero's decorations consist mainly of scenes from the Legend of the Holy Cross, painted on the walls. This story, recorded in the Golden Legend, had already been illustrated by Agnolo Gaddi in one of the chapels of S. Croce at Florence. Piero followed, with some variations, Gaddi's interpretation of the story, though the appearance of the two series is entirely unlike, because of the dissimilarity in the styles of the two artists. Not only is Piero's decoration of significance in the history of art for its technical advancement, dignity, and reserve, but a kind of dream life which characterizes the figures gives a great fascination to the pictures. The figures are realistically represented and the physical relationship between them is remarkably true to nature. But, as we have noted with reference to Piero's earlier paintings, there is no psychological relationship. A kind of somnambulistic expression transports the figures to another world, gives them the charm of the unfamiliar. The coloring of the frescoes is richer than is usual in Piero's work, richer too than in most Florentine frescoes of the time. Even in black and white reproductions of the Arezzo series we get something of the rich decorative effect in a careful spotting of light and dark objects that reminds one of Uccello (cf. no. 784).

One of the episodes in the Legend of the Holy Cross introduces the romantic meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The Queen, about to cross a river, learns in a vision that the bridge is made of a tree grown from a branch of the Tree of Knowledge from the Garden of Paradise. Piero has painted her kneeling in adoration before the bridge, while behind her stand her female attendants, followed by her male servants with the horses. Then to the right we see her received in the palace of Solomon, to whom she relates her miraculous vision. Without elaboration and intricacy of detail, Piero has given a convincing representation of the magnificence of the court of Solomon, the nobility of his courtiers, and the dignity of his reception of the beautiful queen. The interior of his hall has depth and atmosphere; one might move about among the assemblage with perfect ease. The architecture, with its classical composite columns and its emphasis upon horizontal lines, is probably derived from Alberti. Outside, the figures are placed in a charming garden. There is a fine contrast in these two juxtaposed scenes between the diffused light of the interior and the play of sunlight over the figures in the open.

Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Dream of Constantine: Scene from Legend of the Holy Cross (1465)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Arezzo, S. Francesco

In spite of its damaged condition this one fresco in the arezzo series would be enough to assure the lasting fame of Piero della Francesca. It is a night scene. Armed guards stand in perfect silence beside the tent where Constantine lies sleeping. Beyond are the pointed tops of other tents merging into the blue-black sky. Into the darkness and silence of the scene an angel descends. The guards are unconscious of the miracle and Constantine still sleeps, but with the inner eye he sees the angel with the cross. Dampness has almost obliterated the angel; one wing and the outstretched arm are clearly visible, and the light that emanates from the heavenly messenger still constitutes the great marvel of the picture. This radiance falls upon the face of Constantine, lights up the white linen of his bed, and gradually gives place to darkness in the further parts of the tent. It flashes on the armor of the guards outside and bathes the seated attendant in its glow. Yet for all its brilliance and the deep shadows of the picture, there are no artificial contrasts; everywhere there is the most truthful gradation from high lights to deep shadows. Two centuries earlier than Rembrandt's *Night Watch* (no. 1268) Piero's *Dream of Constantine* shows that conquest of a problem of light for which the Dutch master is famous. Half a century after Piero's work, Raphael attacked the same problem, only in a somewhat more sensational manner, in his *Freeing of Peter from Prison* in the Vatican Stanza d' Eliodoro. It is tempting to suppose that Piero's decoration in that stanza which Raphael's *Freeing of Peter* replaced may have been some such study of light as the *Dream of Constantine*.

800

Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Baptista Sforza and Federigo di Montefeltro; Triumph of Baptista Sforza and

Triumph of Federigo di Montefeltro: Obverse and Reverse of Diptych (c.1466?)

Tempera on Wood. H. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Between 1461 and 1466 Piero was frequently in Urbino and must have painted the portrait of the duke and duchess some time during that period. A certain Carmelite monk mentions in a poem a current portrait of the duke that he saw in Urbino in 1466. Probably the reference is to this one by Piero, which is much finer than any other that has come down to us. The busts of Federigo and his wife are painted on the two leaves of a diptych, facing each other. The left profile was probably chosen for the duke's portrait because he had lost his right eye in a tournament. His broken nose, likewise a memento of the tournament, had to show at its worst in a profile view, and Piero has taken no pains to conceal its deformity or any of the other homely details in the features of the duke. The limpid atmosphere of the wide, hilly landscape in the background, the plastic quality of the portrait, the exquisite technical finish of the panel, and the splendid interpretation of the cultured, benevolent character of the man make the picture, nevertheless, one of the most fascinating and beautiful creations of the fifteenth century. The portrait of the duchess is less pleasing only because it interprets a less interesting character.

On the backs of the two panels of the diptych are represented the triumphs of these sovereigns of Urbino. In their triumphal cars they are drawn along a road overlooking their broad domains. The usual topographical landscape serves to indicate, rather than actually portray, the rich territory. On the reverse of Federigo's portrait he is seen seated in full armor, with helmet on his lap and baton extended in his hand, while Victory stands behind and places a wreath

on his head. A little winged genius acts as charioteer, but safety is guaranteed by the presence at the front of the car of a group of virtues: Justice, with her scales and two-edged sword; Prudence with her mirror, and with her double head, looking into the past as well as into the future; Force, with a broken column; and a fourth personification, whose attributes cannot be distinguished. In the other panel Baptista's car is drawn by bay unicorns, symbols of purity. Her triumph is based on religious merits as Federigo's is based on civil merits. So instead of the baton she holds a prayer book in her hands; Truth (?) and an old nun stand behind her, and at the front sit Faith, with cross and chalice, and Religion, with the pelican feeding her young, symbolic of Christ's sacrifice. The idyllic character of these two little scenes, in their quiet landscape setting, justifies their popularity.

801

Francesca, Piero della (c. 1410-1492)

Nativity

Tempera on Wood. H. 4 ft., 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in..

London, National Gallery

The most appealing painting by Piero that has come down to us is the unfinished Nativity now in the National Gallery. Some think the picture was not painted by Piero. But the qualities that disagree with his usual manner can be explained by assuming that the panel was painted after the great Portinari altarpiece (no. 527) by Hugo van der Goes came to Florence, about 1470-1475. The Virgin has become more refined and delicate and the Child more dainty under the influence of Northern types, and rich Flemish colors are combined with Piero's pearly tonalities. These angels, singing the Gloria in excelsis to the accompaniment of their lutes, are sisters of the attendants at the Baptism (no. 797). With no indication of halos or wings, they are simple peasant girls intent on their music - one naturally thinks of the cantoria of Luca della Robbia (no. 663) and of the Ghent altarpiece (no. 513), though in the latter the figures contrast in their aristocratic type and costuming. The complete absorption of these girls in their music is characteristic of Piero's figures; they seem to be unconscious of the presence of even the Virgin and Child, for whom their hymn is sung. Behind, at the right, the two shepherds, who have come in to tell Joseph of their miraculous vision, declaim as orators on a stage, without personal relationship to their audience.

The remarkably fine aerial perspective of the ruined pent-roof shed, under which the Holy Family has taken shelter, is always much admired. The whole composition in the foreground impresses us with its truth and simplicity. It makes a much greater appeal to modern taste than do the elaborate, rich representations of the Nativity so popular in Piero's time (cf. no. 815). Rich compositions must be incredibly rich, so that they enter the realm of the fairy tale, like the work of Gentile da Fabriano (cf. nos. 762, 763), if they are to appeal to us.

The background of Piero's Nativity is the conventional topographical Umbrian landscape familiar in his paintings (cf. no. 797). The town in the right background has been identified as Borgo S. Sepolcro.

802

Verrocchio, Andrea (1435-1488), and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

The Baptism (c. 1465-1470)

Oil and Tempera on Wood. H. 5 ft., 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

In the Baptism of Christ, the only authenticated painting by Verrocchio that has come down to us, we are not allowed to forget that the author was essentially a sculptor. The brawny, ungainly forms of Christ and the Baptist

have the rotundity and hardness of figures cast in bronze. Their poses suggest Pollaiuolo (cf. no. 792), with whom Verrocchio shows affinities in his sculpture (see no. 671), and their anatomical rendering is remarkable. Verrocchio seems to have proceeded much as if he were creating human figures by laying muscles, tendons, flesh, veins, and skin in successive layers over skeletons. The figure of the Baptist is unfinished; on the left hand and arm the veins and tendons are still exposed. The bony structure in the hands of the right kneeling angel also deserves attention. But even the two principal figures have much beyond anatomical significance. They express a calm, solemn dignity in keeping with the subject; and the two angels, especially the one at the left, and the landscape setting have much pictorial beauty.

The incongruity of the various parts of the picture is explained by the participation of two different hands. Even the medium varies: parts are carried out entirely in tempera; other parts, as the angel at the left and the distant landscape, are in oil. It is possible that Leonardo painted this distant landscape, which is comparable to the landscape in a drawing by him dated 1473 and which finds echoes in his later paintings, such as the *Mona Lisa* (no. 811) and the *St. Anne* (no. 812). Critics usually follow Vasari in attributing the angel at the left to Leonardo. Some think it the work of another pupil of Verrocchio's, whose manner closely resembles that of Leonardo. In any case, the two angels illustrate well the differences between the styles of the two masters. The delicate profile finds a related, though more profound, representation in that uplifted ecstatic face of a youth at the right of the *Madonna in the Uffizi Adoration* (no. 806). The subtly varying curves and the infinite play of light and shade contrast with the much simpler contour and modeling of the head attributed to Verrocchio. Likewise, there is a decided contrast between the soft, fluffy undulations of hair, so dear to Leonardo, and the crisp, metallic locks of the sober little angel that seems to look at his more graceful brother with something of the feeling of inferiority that Verrocchio experienced, according to Vasari, on the occasion of Leonardo's surpassing his master in the painting of the angel. The slightly affected sweetness of the profile angel is an argument used against Leonardo's authorship. But perhaps we should be willing to admit of some imperfection in the earliest work of even so great an artist as Leonardo. In 1470, the approximate date of the addition of the angel to Verrocchio's panel, Leonardo was only eighteen years old. Verrocchio had started work on the picture about 1465, at the order of the brethren of Vallombrosa at S. Salvi.

803

Verrocchio (?), Andrea (1435-1488)

Portrait of a Young Woman (c. 1480)

Tempera on Wood. H. 16½ in.

Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection

The authorship of the various parts of the *Baptism* (no. 802) is no more disputed than is that of the bust portrait of a woman in the Liechtenstein Gallery. Before a background of fir trees the pallid, aristocratic face, with its steady brown eyes and its frame of crisp, metallic curls, produces a most striking effect. This unknown woman is almost as fascinating as Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* (no. 811); yet she is a totally different type. Instead of the seductive smile of *Mona Lisa*, the expression here is slightly repellant, as of one who, though young, has experienced life and found it unpleasant. Instead of the soft, yielding flesh of *Mona Lisa*, the texture here is sculptural. The parallel in sculpture is the beautiful marble bust in the Bargello known as la donna alle belle mani (the woman with the beautiful hands). Both are probably portraits of the same woman by the same artist, Verrocchio.

Very delicate is the penciling of the pine needles against the luminous sky. The effect is closely related to that of parts of the background in Botticelli's *Primavera* (no. 820), which was being painted at approximately the same time as the Liechtenstein portrait. The lovely bit of landscape at the right, as instinct with the feeling of evening stillness as any modern painting, we seldom equaled in Renaissance art.

The portrait is painted on a poplar panel, the back of which is stained a

reddish brown and highly polished. On this ground is a monochrome device made up of a branch of laurel, a branch of palm, and a branch of fir, with, woven through them, a scroll on which appears the words, VIRTUTEM FORMA DECORAT: "Beauty is an ornament to virtue."

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School of Andrea Verrocchio

Annunciation (c. 1475)

Oil on Wood. H. 3 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Uffizi

From a monastery church on Monte Oliveto, outside Florence, there came into the Uffizi in 1880 a panel of the Annunciation which, because of its similarity in certain points to the little panel of the same subject in the Louvre (no. 805), is frequently attributed to Leonardo. The relationship between the two paintings is, however, mainly superficial. Very little of the sweet, tender feeling of the Louvre picture is to be found in the Uffizi example. In the latter the Virgin is an aristocratic Florentine lady of literary tastes, who lives in a splendid stone palace. Even in the courtyard she uses an elaborate sculptured reading desk. Gabriel approaches her like one reared in the most polite society. The crisp, metallic folds of drapery, that contrast with the soft woolen robes in the Louvre picture, help to connect the work with Verrocchio, as does also the type of the reading desk. This desk is closely related to the sarcophagus in Desiderio's Marsuppini tomb in S. Croce (no. 655) and to Verrocchio's Medici sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo, Florence. But inaccuracies in the perspective of the picture, especially as evidenced in the relation of the Virgin to her reading desk, together with the awkward placing of the courtyard gateway at the back of the picture so that Gabriel has had to right-about-face when he has come in, and various other details are evidence against the authorship of Verrocchio. He probably designed the picture, and he may have painted the beautiful landscape background, quite as fine in its decorative, poetic effect as that of the Liechtenstein portrait (no. 803), but he probably entrusted to some pupil or pupils, other than Leonardo, the execution of the rest of the picture.

805

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Annunciation (c. 1476)

Oil on Wood. H. 5½ in.

Paris, Louvre

The earliest painting which is now unanimously attributed to Leonardo, the little panel of the Annunciation in the Louvre, gives a fitting introduction to the master whose fascinating life occupies scholars in almost every branch of learning. It shows us his early delight in technical problems of painting. On a diminutive surface his true linear perspective suggests a spacious courtyard, and his aerial perspective leads off into limitless bright distance. He is already a student of botany: the crisp flowers in the courtyard prepare us for the scientifically correct, yet always beautiful, botanical drawings in his manuscripts. He is busy with the study of drapery: the various textiles, particularly the heavy materials that fall in rich folds, remind us of the drapery studies among his drawings and of his detailed discourses on drapery treatment in his Treatise on Painting. He is here a master of movement and expression: one may place this tiny panel beside the greatest of all paintings of gesture and emotion, the Last Supper (no. 809), done twenty years later, and feel no incongruity; we think especially of the Philip and John in the Last Supper when we look at this Virgin of the Annunciation. The simple means by which Leonardo has told the story, the lack of agitation, contrast with frequent representations of the subject, in which, as Leonardo cleverly says in his Treatise on Painting, Gabriel, "while he announces her fate to the Virgin, seems trying to chase her out of the room; for in his movements there appears to

be a wrath such as one only shows toward the most contemptible of one's enemies, and the Mother of God looks as if she could throw herself out of the window in despair."

Above all, it is the mystery in this panel which is most significant of the character of Leonardo. The mystery connected with every phase of his emotional, mental, and physical life as we see it to-day is probably largely attributable to his genius; universal in his interests, he brought to each a penetrating vision beyond the experience of the ordinary man. So with this panel, into a composition which conforms with all the technical laws, which make for realism, comes a breath of the spiritual and the heavenly.

The size and proportions of the Louvre Annunciation indicate that it was probably originally designed as a predella panel. With what picture it may have been so associated we have no idea. We have no documentary reference to our panel, and it is only in comparatively recent years that it has been recognized as a work of Leonardo. (It had been attributed to Ghirlandaio and to Lorenzo di Credi. In 1875 Morelli placed it as an early Leonardo.) The relation of its design to that of a painting in the Uffizi (no. 804) has given rise to much discussion. Leonardo may well have found in the Uffizi painting the suggestion for his composition, though the motive came originally from Baldovinetti.

The Louvre Annunciation has been dated as diversely as 1470 and 1480. The dating of c. 1476, about the time Leonardo left Verrocchio's atelier, seems most satisfactory.

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Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Adoration of the Kings (Begun in 1481; Unfinished)

Oil on Wood. H. 7 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Uffizi

No other picture illustrates so well as Leonardo's Adoration of the Magi how painting of the High Renaissance broke away from the trammels of convention, and no other picture is so expressive of the spirit of the Renaissance.

Even among the drawings that fortune has preserved to us we can trace the elaborate evolution of the composition and its details. When in March, 1481, he agreed to paint an altarpiece for the monks of S. Donato at Scopeto (near Florence), he was apparently given some freedom even in the choice of subject matter. A sketch in the Bonnat collection at Bayonne indicates that he first considered an Adoration of the Shepherds, with the Virgin kneeling beside the Child and with worshippers at either side. Some little drawings on a sheet in the Metropolitan Museum of the kneeling Madonna hovering over the Child may possibly have been preliminary sketches for this composition.

The theme of the Adoration of the Shepherds was soon abandoned for an Adoration of the Magi. Many small sketches of details - sometimes as many as five or six for one figure or group of figures - and a pen drawing in the Galichon collection of the Louvre bring this composition to a comparatively final stage. Yet not one detail from any of these preliminary sketches was taken over unchanged into the final panel. The most obvious departure from the Galichon drawing was the elimination of the traditional sheltering hut and the ox and the ass. In the Uffizi panel the Madonna and Child are placed in the open, uncrowned, unlimbed, with no accessories whatever, with only their expression of absolute purity to separate them from humanity.

The preliminary studies for this picture not only outline its development but help explain Leonardo's failure to finish commissions. As he worked at an Adoration of the Shepherds he saw larger possibilities in an Adoration of the Kings. As he worked at a subordinate motive of men arguing in the background he began to have visions of a new and wonderful interpretation of the Last Supper, later taken up at S. Maria delle Grazie (no. 809). As he experimented with arrangements of the equipage of the Magi, he became engrossed in the development of a tilting scene, out of which, a quarter of a century later, was

evolved the Battle of the Standards (cf. no. 810).

Aside from the many sketches leading toward the Adoration, there is in the Uffizi a large careful perspective drawing of the architecture in the background, which seems to have been used as an actual working drawing and to have been transferred almost unchanged onto the final panel. It is a piece of such scientific accuracy as would have delighted Uccello.

It is scarcely to be regretted that the Adoration canvas was left incomplete. Color is of comparatively little significance in Leonardo's paintings; light and shade are far more important, and only Rembrandt's Night Watch (no. 1268) can be compared with the Adoration for aesthetic effect of chiaroscuro. With the design worked out in monochrome underpainting and with the surface execution indicated only in the trees of the middle distance, this panel has the fascination of the unfinished sculptures of Michelangelo (cf. no. 679).

Much has been written of the mathematical formation of the composition. The picture is sufficient demonstration of the justice of Leonardo's defense in his Treatise on Painting of the scientific - especially mathematical - character of painting. It affords illustrations in plenty, too, of his written observations regarding chiaroscuro, regarding the importance of gesture and movement as means of expression, and regarding many other phases of painting. His interpretation of character in the crowd that surrounds the Madonna is marvelous. They come from all walks of life and express, it would seem, all possible attitudes toward the object of worship, ecstatic adoration, calm respect, doubt, disbelief, longing, curiosity. One is always impressed by the universal character of Leonardo's art, just as one is impressed by the universal character of the man himself. It is this universal character that makes him and his art the most perfect exemplars of the man and the art of the Renaissance.

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Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Madonna of the Rocks (c. 1482?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 6 ft., 6 in.

Paris, Louvre

In the early stages of Leonardo's studies for the Scopeto altarpiece (no. 806), when he was thinking of an Adoration of the Shepherds with the Madonna hovering over the Child, we see the germ of the Madonna of the Rocks, which may have been painted at about the same time, as early as 1482. The two compositions were apparently divergent developments from one conception. Thus a sheet of drawings in the Metropolitan Museums (see p. 70) is sometimes mentioned in connection with the Adoration, sometimes in connection with the Madonna of the Rocks. There are two versions of the latter subject, one in the Louvre, another in the National Gallery, London. They differ slightly in composition, and both have been carried to completion. The one in London was commissioned in 1483 for the Franciscans of Milan and it was not finished until twenty-three years later. Its design shows some improvement, especially since the somewhat awkward motive of the angel's pointing hand has been eliminated, but the earlier version is more interesting because it shows greater enthusiasm on the part of the artist. One can easily understand that Leonardo, above everything else an experimenter, would have found a repetition of an earlier creation almost impossible.

The Madonna of the Rocks shows scarcely less departure from the traditional figure arrangement than does the Uffizi Adoration (no. 806). The pyramidal composition, pyramidal in the third dimension as well as in the picture plane, revolutionized contemporary painting. The setting, too, was an innovation. Its general effect is fantastic, a grotto landscape the formation of which suggests huge stalactites and stalagmites with bright light penetrating through the openings. But its details are, at the same time, studied with the minuteness of a geologist and a botanist.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Madonna with St. Anne (c. 1482?)

Cartoon Drawn on Paper. Figures Life-Size

London, Royal Academy

More beautiful than the Madonna of the Rocks is the cartoon for a picture that Leonardo never painted. The theme of the Madonna sitting on the lap of St. Anne was one to which he recurred through many years. The London cartoon, with its preparatory drawings (among which the Metropolitan Museum claims an example), is the earliest of his versions that has come down to us. Its date is uncertain, but it may possibly be placed as early as 1482. Leonardo has achieved in this beautiful composition the quintessence of sweet, intimate communion. The understanding and sympathy between the Virgin and her mother is complete; the Child Jesus leans forward, yet makes no attempt to free Himself from the tender grasp of Mary; and even the little St. John, the object of Jesus' blessing, harmonizes, in his calm content, with the mood of the picture.

A second cartoon for the subject, which Leonardo made in preparation for the altar of the Servites of Florence in 1501 is described by a contemporary. No picture was painted from it by Leonardo and even the cartoon has disappeared. But a beautiful drawing in the Venice Academy preserves its design. Here the motive is quite different from that of the London cartoon. The Virgin still sits on the lap of St. Anne. But their sympathetic communion is disturbed. The Child tries to break away from His mother to play with the lamb, which has been substituted for the little St. John. The Virgin, about to rise from St. Anne's lap, tries to restrain Him, while St. Anne, at cross purposes with her, tries to prevent the Virgin's interference. The contemporary account explains the picture as symbolic of Christ's acceptance of the Passion, symbolized by the sacrificial lamb; the Virgin's desire to save Him from it; and the desire of the Church, symbolized by St. Anne, to allow the accomplishment of the Passion.

The third version of the subject is the unfinished painting in the Louvre. Here the Child has got off His mother's lap and looks back playfully at her while He grasps the lamb. His mother reaches down to Him, but both she and St. Anne look on smilingly with no attempt at prevention. The pyramidal composition is more formal than in the preceding versions and the perfect, unaffected intimacy is lost. The picture was not only painted late - probably 1507 to 1512 - when Leonardo may have lost some of his enthusiasm for the subject; it was also largely executed by assistants.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

The Last Supper (1494-1498)

Tempera on Plaster. Figures above Life-Size

Milan, S. Maria delle Grazie

For three years (1495-1498) Leonardo worked intermittently on the only monumental painting that he brought to completion, the Last Supper in the dining hall of the monastery connected with the church of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The subject had already taken hold of his imagination, as we have seen, when he was working on his design for the Adoration (no. 806) in 1482. The background detail, which has come to be spoken of as the "argument" motive, with men sitting about a table engaged in discussion was dropped out of the Adoration and was gradually developed into a scene of the apostles and Christ at the Last Supper. At first Leonardo tried the traditional arrangement, with Judas alone on one side of the table and with the Beloved Disciple leaning on Christ's bosom. With his mastery of expression, Leonardo soon found that he could make the scene clear without marring his composition with such awkward passages. So he put Judas on the same side with the other apostles and turned John away from Christ. Thus Judas and John, brought close together, serve as

foils to each other, and no amount of artificial placing could so clearly distinguish them as does the contrast of the two faces and figures. Besides John and Judas, only Peter follows the traditional type. But people have named them all in the following order (left to right): Bartholomew, James the Younger, Andrew, Judas, Peter, John, Christ, Thomas, James the Elder, Philip, Matthew, Thaddeus, Simon. They are all minutely characterized as distinct personalities, the result of Leonardo's constant observation and notation of peculiarities in people whom he met in his daily life. They are arranged in groups of three, with gestures connecting the groups and carrying the movement, with all the variety of pauses, accelerations, harmonies, and contrasts of a musical composition, from both directions toward Christ, Who has just uttered the startling words, "One of you shall betray me."

The picture extends the entire width of one of the end walls of the refectory and is drawn in such perspective that the painted room in which the Last Supper takes place appears to be a continuation of the room in which the monks sat at table. The sadly ruined condition of the picture is due both to technical faults and to abuse. Instead of using the regular fresco technique, Leonardo sought to obtain a richer effect by applying tempera to dry plaster. The immediate result seemed, no doubt, to justify the experiment, but deterioration set in soon. Unintelligent attempts to check the deterioration and to restore the picture only contributed toward its ruin, while misuse of the room and the deliberate destruction of the lower middle of the picture by the cutting of a doorway through the wall well-nigh succeeded in obliterating the work completely.

Yet when one steps into the quiet of that bare room and looks up toward the scene, shadow though it be of its former glory, one becomes immediately a thirteenth disciple, startled, questioning, marveling.

810

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) Copies by Rubens (1577-1640)

Battle of Anghiari

(Original Paper Cartoon (1503-1505) now Destroyed)

Drawing in Bistre on Paper (c. 1605). H. c. 11 in.

Paris, Louvre

Another composition that we find in embryo in the background of the Adoration (no. 806) is the battle piece designed for a wall in the Sala Grande del Consiglio, where the Municipal Council of Florence held its meetings. The battle theme fascinated Leonardo because of the complexity of movement and the extreme expression of passion that it involved. We have among Leonardo's manuscripts descriptions of how a battle should be painted:

"First you must represent the smoke of artillery mingling in the air with the dust and tossed up by the movement of horses and the combatants. . . . The figures in the foreground you must make with dust on the hair and eyebrows and on other flat places likely to retain it. The conquerors you will make rushing onward with their hair and other light things flying on the wind, with their brows bent down, and with the opposite limbs thrust forward; that is, where a man puts forward the right foot the left arm must be advanced. . . . You must make the conquered and beaten pale, their brows raised and knit, and the skin above their brows furrowed with pain, the sides of the nose with wrinkles going in an arch from the nostrils to the eyes, and make the nostrils drawn up - which is the cause of the lines of which I speak - and the lips arched upward and discovering the upper teeth, and the teeth apart as with crying out and lamentation. And make some one shielding his terrified eyes with one hand, the palm toward the enemy, while the other rests on the ground to support his half-raised body. . . . As to men and horses represented in battle, their different parts will be dark in proportion as they are nearer to the ground on which they stand. And this is proved by the sides of wells which grow darker in proportion to their depth, the reason of which is that the deepest part of the well sees and receives a smaller amount of the luminous atmosphere than any other part. . . ."

The commission for the decoration of a wall in the Council Chamber in 1503

gave Leonardo the opportunity to produce a monumental representation of his ideas concerning a battle. The commission stipulated only that he should paint a subject from the glorious history of Florence; choice of the particular event was apparently left to the artist. The Battle of Anghiari, which he selected, though resulting in a victory for Florence, had no political importance; it was an episode in the Florentine-Milanese war of more than than one hundred years earlier. Apparently Leonardo intended an accurate topographical and historical presentation. He visited the little river valley between Arezzo and Borgo S. Sepolcro, where it was fought, and a description of the course of the battle presumably compiled by a historian in the service of the seigniory was left among Leonardo's manuscripts. His drawings indicate that he chose the action centering about the bridge, which was occupied in turn by the combatants. The Battle of the Standard, which he made famous, was apparently to be flanked in the painting by groups of horsemen and foot soldiers, some rushing forward to take part in the skirmish.

Work on the cartoon was begun late in 1503 or early in 1504. Early in 1505 the cartoon had been finished; scaffolding was erected and the painting progressed rapidly for a few months. Then everything stopped suddenly; the technical process had proven faulty. Again Leonardo had sought new splendor by untried means, and deterioration this time took hold of the work even before it was completed. By 1558 it was completely effaced. But the passage which had been painted was copied by several artists and some of the copies - or copies of copies - remain. Though Rubens came too late to work from the painting itself, his copy reproduces most successfully the spirit of Leonardo. The cartoon, while it lasted, was, like Michelangelo's cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, which was designed for the opposite wall of the council chamber, a "school" for artists. The snatches of sketches by Leonardo that remain to us supplement Rubens' copy and give a better idea of the extent and complication of the cartoon. We have also detailed studies for some of the warriors' heads, which are among the most striking bits that have come down to us; they form a part of the evolution of Leonardo's ideas of the effect of human passion, of its tendency to give man the semblance of a beast. Other aids to our conception of Leonardo's intended effect are little bronze models of horse, rider, and fallen warrior. They derive, probably, from his studies for the Trivulzio monument, but they are related also to the battle piece, and indeed their conception is in the background of the Adoration of 1481 (no. 806), where we find the battle scene evolving. Among the bronze replicas or copies of Leonardo's models is a splendid war horse, heroic in spirit in spite of its diminutive size (about eight inches high), in the Metropolitan Museum, and another type of horse in the collection of Mr. Clarence H. Mackay.

811

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Mona Lisa (La Gioconda) (1503-1506)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 6 3/8 in.

Paris, Louvre

An interesting comparison may be drawn between La Gioconda by Leonardo and the Demeter from Cnidus (no. 139). The latter is typical of the steady, controlled emotion of Greek art of the great period; the former is typical of the complication of emotions that vie with each other for ascendancy in the art of the High Renaissance, producing the mysterious effect which so often puzzles us. Demeter has lost her daughter Persephone and sits gazing mournfully into the distance. There is no conflict of emotions here, just the one feeling of sad, unconsolable longing. It is this oneness of purpose, naturally accompanied by breadth and simplicity of modeling, which gives unparalleled monumentality to Greek art. Mona Lisa, too, has been saddened by the loss of children; but the personal attitude of the Renaissance makes her look not into the distance but at us; and the music with which Leonardo tries to charm her while he paints calls forth the suggestion of a smile. Sadness, sophisticated enjoyment, desire to allure struggle for predominance over the beautifully modeled features; for different spectators different emotions prevail.

Mona Lisa Gherardini was a Neapolitan lady who in 1495 had become the wife of Francesco del Giocondo, an eminent Florentine nobleman. Leonardo has shown her seated in an armchair on a high, open loggia of a country villa in

the subdued, diffused evening light of out-of-doors, which in his Treatise on Painting he recommends for portrait painting. The background is the typical landscape used by Florentine painters of the period and a little earlier (cf. nos. 790, 795). But never had it been given so mysterious a touch and been so perfectly adapted to its purpose as here.

The portrait was probably painted in the years between 1503 and 1506, when Leonardo returned to Florence from his military travels with Cesare Borgia. The numerous Milanese copies still existing indicate that Leonardo must have exhibited the painting for some time in Milan after he went there in 1506. These copies show us better than does the original that Leonardo had reached the limit of sweetness and sophistication; the least exaggeration by the imitator produced nauseating over-refinement. With the tendency of human nature to play with fire, the pupils and imitators of Leonardo were fascinated and influenced by this very painting above all his other work, and the degeneration of his school was inevitable.

812

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Madonna with St. Anne (c. 1507-1512)

Oil on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 7 in.

Paris, Louvre

Between the design of the London cartoon of the Madonna with St. Anne and the design of the painting of the same subject in the Louvre there is the difference that one may find between the natural grace of a maiden and the cultivated grace of an actress. "How sweet and unaffected!" one says of the London drawing; "How accomplished and skillful!" of the Louvre painting. Every contour of the painting is carefully thought out so that one part flows into another with the softest, most alluring curves. There is more insistence than in the earlier versions upon the pyramidal composition, St. Anne's head forming the apex. The types of figures, too, have become softer and more graceful, and the sweetness of expression has become somewhat saccharine, indicating the assistance of pupils. The design must have been worked out by Leonardo, but the actual painting (which has not been completed) has been done largely by assistants. The picture is really more satisfactory in reproduction than in the original, because of the poor coloring, the harsh and unpleasant surface. The composition has suffered seriously through the subsequent unintelligent enlargement of the picture by the addition of a few inches to either side. Not only do these two vertical strips blend badly with the original landscape, but also they destroy the intended compactness of the picture and set up an incongruity between its now loose landscape and condensed figure composition. The picture was probably painted between 1507 and 1512, during Leonardo's second sojourn in Milan.

813

Ghirlandaio, Domenico (1449-1494)

St. Jerome (1480)

Fresco. Life-Size

Florence, Church of Ognissanti

Domenico Ghirlandaio, like Benozzo Gozzoli (see no. 783), was content to profit by the discoveries made by the more curious, experimental artists of his time and to devote himself to the painting of pictures designed with the sole purpose of pleasing his public. Since the public usually requires little originality for its amusement - even resents it - we are prepared for a somewhat monotonous, prosaic production.

St. Jerome, in his study, is a very commonplace old graybeard. He seems wholly negative and uninteresting in contrast to St. Augustine on the opposite

wall, painted in the same year, 1480, by Botticelli (no. 821). St. Augustine is all power and inspiration; St. Jerome is calm and composed, waiting patiently for an idea. The chief interest of the picture is in the minute delineation of the accessories of the study: books, pots, lamp, spectacles, scissors, table cover, and so forth, are drawn most carefully. One is reminded in this connection that Ghirlandaio was a pupil of Baldovinetti, who experimented in the oil medium introduced by Domenico Veneziano. Ghirlandaio ever refused to adopt that medium, clinging to the familiar techniques of fresco and tempera. It would seem as if in this picture of St. Jerome he has tried to prove that the oil medium, which admitted of slow work and much alteration, was not necessary for detail; that minute effects could be obtained in fresco, as well. It is remarkable that this fresco can be compared with such a model of perfect detail as Holbein's portrait of George Gisze (no. 568).

814

Ghirlandaio, Domenico (1449-1494)

Calling of Peter and Andrew (c. 1481)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Ghirlandaio's commission to help decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel, along with some of the most prominent painters of his day (cf. nos. 833, 836, 839), seems to have called forth the best of his talents. The dignified figure of Christ in the Calling of the Apostles is frequently compared with Masaccio's commanding figure in the Tribute Money (no. 771). The unsatisfactory face of Christ may be blamed partly upon its extensive restoration. Even in the stance and the gesture, however, there is a suggestion of affected importance that is foreign to Masaccio. Ghirlandaio was more successful in the numerous portraits that flank the central scene, reminding us of the work of Fra Filippo at Prato (no. 782). He was conspicuously unsuccessful with all the idealized faces: Andrew and Peter, kneeling before Christ, are too senile to be useful disciples; the bearded man just behind Christ is an almost exact repetition of the Ognissanti St. Jerome (no. 813). The portraits, right and left, are, on the other hand, full of interest and individuality. Ghirlandaio was still living too much under the shadow of the Brancacci Chapel to abandon classical draperies. Though we see the tops of fluted tunics, a feature of contemporary costume, among the crowd, voluminous mantles drape all the figures seen in full length except the youthful Lorenzo Tornabuoni, at the right. Later we find our artist making bold use of contemporary costumes throughout his religious compositions (no. 815). Several members of the Tornabuoni family and other notables are conspicuous among the groups of spectators in the Sistine composition. It is probable that the Florentine colony in Rome furnished most of the models.

Ghirlandaio has followed the old method of continuous narrative. In the middle distance, at the left, Christ is calling Peter and Andrew from their boat out a little way from shore; to the right, with Peter and Andrew close behind Him, He is calling James and John, the sons of Zebedee, who are nearing the shore in their fishing boat. These scenes are well subordinated to the main scene of the mission to Peter and Andrew.

The composition is very carefully worked out. The groups of spectators and the cliffs and trees frame in the main theme, and the water in the middle, which we are to interpret as Lake Gennesaret, lit up by the reflection of the glowing horizon, carries the eye far into the distance and gives a sense of freedom and spaciousness to the scene. It is the type of composition that we find at the beginning of landscape painting in France two centuries later. One wonders if Claude Lorraine (cf. nos. 1284, 1285) was not impressed quite as much by some of the paintings in the Sistine Chapel as by his actual observation of Italian landscape. Ghirlandaio's trees, rock formations, and mountains are conventional, but they are decorative, and, above all, they are bathed in atmosphere.

Ghirlandaio, Domenico (1449-1494)

Birth of St. John the Baptist (1485)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Maria Novella

Very characteristic of Ghirlandaio is his decoration of the choir of S. Maria Novella, where, for Giovanni Tornabuoni, he replaced the ruined frescoes of Orcagna. The principal paintings cover the side walls in four horizontal zones, scenes from the life of the Virgin on the left, scenes from the life of John the Baptist on the right. Ghirlandaio saw to it that his patron got full returns on his money: Giovanni Tornabuoni and numerous relatives and friends appear as actors and spectators in the religious scenes. They enter now with perfect boldness, not even feeling the necessity to cover their rich worldly costumes with the conventional classical mantle.

Unquestionably it is a member of the Tornabuoni family who comes in a rich gold and white dress, appropriately accompanied by two matronly figures, to congratulate Elizabeth on the birth of St. John. Her name is unknown, but her noble birth is evident from her confident gaze and aristocratic bearing that are almost worthy of Velasquez. The girl in fluttering drapery, who breezes through the door behind the visitors with a plate of fruit on her head, is a type popular with many artists at this time. Fra Filippo had already used it for his Salome in the frescoes at Prato.

Ghirlandaio never attempted to stir the emotions; he gave a prosaic, but truthful and interesting, chronicle of the life of the well-to-do class of his day. This is the kind of scene that would have followed a birth in the Tornabuoni family. The room and its furnishings show the contemporary classical taste; coffered ceiling and carved pilasters are minutely drawn. In some of the other scenes in the S. Maria Novella series copies of extant Roman reliefs are introduced as architectural decoration. Ghirlandaio's talent as a still-life painter, that we noted in the Ognissanti fresco of St. Jerome (no. 813), is displayed in the accessories of our composition, notably in the glass flask on the tray carried in by the serving maid at the back of the room.

Ghirlandaio, Domenico (1449-1494)

Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi (1488)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 5½ in.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

Even in his frescoes of religious subjects Ghirlandaio showed himself most gifted as a portraitist. Such a figure as the unknown young lady in the scene of the Birth of John the Baptist (no. 815) deserves a place among the finest portraits of the Renaissance. Equally successful is the portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi that Ghirlandaio gave a conspicuous place in the Visitation in the S. Maria Novella series of frescoes. She is there by virtue of her relationship to the Tornabuoni family, having become the bride of Lorenzo Tornabuoni in 1486. She had already died when Ghirlandaio painted the fresco; apparently he copied in the fresco his splendid half-length panel portrait of Giovanna, which he had painted in 1488, the year of her death. The beautiful profile face of this panel has the charm of the so-called Domenico Veneziano portraits (no. 794), done with the clear delicacy of outline and the refined modulation of a cameo. The detailed representation of costume and other accessories rivals the miniature-like work of a Holbein and here, unlike the St. Jerome at Ognissanti (no. 813), the dignified, aristocratic features and bearing are able to carry off the richness of detail, as the realism and psychological interpretation in Holbein's portraits rise superior to the detail.

Ghirlandaio, Domenico (1449-1494)

Old Man and Boy

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 3/8 in.

Paris, Louvre

Though less interesting iconographically than the portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi because the identity of the sitters is unknown, Ghirlandaio's *Old Man and a Boy* is more interesting as a character study. The human relationship between this homely old man and this lovely child is most convincingly expressed and makes the picture a masterpiece. Accustomed to fill his large Biblical scenes with realistic portraits of the great men of his day, who cared more for force of character and success than for beauty of feature, Ghirlandaio has spared this old deformed face no detail of its ugliness; but the expression of gentleness with which it looks down at the little angel-faced grandchild gives it a beauty that transcends physical grace. It is partly the fond, trustful expression of the child that makes us discount those physical defects. The little boy sees no fault in his grandfather's appearance; he sees only the expression of kindness and indulgence.

The old man is dressed in a red, fur-edged robe such as that worn by Florentine magistrates. The boy, too, is dressed in red. Through the open window is seen one of those river landscapes popular in the pictures of the day, but with a veil of atmosphere, and consequently a suggestion of distance, that few artists attained.

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Madonna dei Chigi (c. 1468)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 9½ in.

Boston, Gardner Museum

The physical possibilities of painting had been pretty completely explored in Florence before the end of the fifteenth century: the mediums of tempera and fresco had been perfected, and even the use of oil was fairly well understood; problems of linear and aerial perspective had been solved; the human anatomy in repose and in action had been analyzed. The opening for original investigation now lay in the direction of psychical analysis. We see the new tendency already in the sculpture of Donatello and especially in that of Verrocchio: an enigmatic smile plays over the face of the young David in the Bargello (no. 671). The artist is not satisfied with a realistic, topographical record of the anatomical features; he wants to fathom the mind, and in some way to give a record of what he finds there. What he finds is baffling and enigmatic, hence the sphinx-like expression of Mona Lisa (no. 811). The psychoanalyst of the late fifteenth century in Florence found his task particularly difficult: it was a sophisticated period; there was no free and open expression of emotions.

Botticelli is one of the most fascinating of psychoanalytical painters, because he came in some respects much nearer the truth than modern psychologists, who explain the workings of the mind with mechanical clarity. Botticelli acknowledged, and expressed in his paintings, the enigmatic character of mental life, and it is this sense of the unfathomed, this mystery in his pictures that lures us.

His training under Fra Filippo Lippi is evident in his early works, of which the beautifully preserved *Madonna from the Chigi collection* is one of the best examples. The general arrangement of the composition, a half-length view of the Madonna seated before a window through which is seen a distant landscape, the angel attendant, even the facial type of the Virgin, and her transparent headdress recall the *Uffizi Madonna* by Fra Filippo (no. 781). But the gay spirit of Filippo's group has vanished. With a faint smile that is more serious than gay, this boy angel, older than those in Filippo's picture,

offers a basket of grapes and wheat, symbols of Christ's sacrifice. Sadly thoughtful, the Madonna touches one of the ears of wheat, while the Child, despite His babyish appearance, seems likewise to sense the significance of the angel's offering, and raises His hand as if to bless it.

819

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Adoration of the Magi (c. 1478)

Tempera on Wood. H. 3 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

In this, one of several versions of the Epiphany by Botticelli, he showed what he could do as a normal artist, following the traditions of the past, and making use of the discoveries of contemporary art. The ruined shelter, on which a peacock perches; the Eastern Star, shedding its rays on the Holy Child; the richly equipped Magi and their princely following- in all this Botticelli has followed his master Fra Filippo Lippi and other artists of his day. He has made the usual use of this religious theme, a use which explains the popularity of the subject: it is painted not for its religious significance, but because it affords an excellent opportunity for the glorification of the people who pose as the Magi and their following. To be sure, the Madonna group is raised up where it is clearly visible. But it is at the same time set back and is rendered in less detail than the portraits.

The picture was commissioned by Giovanni Lami for his family altar in S. Maria Novella at Florence, where it remained until 1570. This Florentine merchant evidently wished to honor the Medici, for theirs are the prominent portraits in the picture. Cosimo de' Medici is the old Magus in gold-embroidered robe, who kneels to kiss Christ's foot while he receives the blessing. Cosimo's sons, Giovanni and Piero, are the two younger Magi, who kneel in the foreground. Giuliano, perhaps, is the prince clad in the rich dark robe at the right (a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici by Botticelli is in the collection of Mr. Otto H. Kahn, New York), while Lorenzo is recognized in the haughty youth at the left resting his hands on his sword hilt. Many of the other figures are undoubtedly portraits, but there is no agreement as to their identification, except in the case of the tall man in broad, simple robe at the extreme right: this must be Botticelli himself, who looks out at us with penetrating gaze.

The elongated bodies, especially noticeable in the Madonna; the pose of some of the figures, as that of the one identified as Lorenzo; and the articulation of wrists and fingers are peculiarities that Botticelli probably picked up in the workshop of Pollaiuolo (cf. nos. 790-792). The breadth and dignity of such a figure as the portrait of Botticelli and perhaps the motive of the figures kneeling with their backs to us (cf. no. 773) show a study of Masaccio.

This type of picture is just what the people of Botticelli's day wanted, and the excellence of its execution - the composition is perfectly balanced, the portraits are superb - shows that had he wished to go on with this sort of thing, Botticelli would have been even more successful than Ghirlandaio in that master's own field.

820

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Primavera (Allegory of Spring) (c. 1478)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

At about the same time that Botticelli painted one of his most traditional paintings, the Adoration of the Magi (no. 819), he painted one of his most original, the Primavera, or Spring. The date of neither of these is certain,

but it is approximately 1478.

Immediately after noting that the Primavera is one of the most original of all paintings, the critic invariably attempts to explain the work as a pictorial paraphrase of some Latin or Italian writer: Lucretian, Poliziano, Alberti, or Lorenzo the Magnificent. The disagreement as to which author Botticelli followed is a proof that he did not follow any of them closely. Undoubtedly, the picture did have a definite meaning understood by the cultured people of the time, who delighted in allegories based on classical writings. There is agreement as to the central figure, Venus, who stands richly clad in a bower of myrtle, rose trees, and flowers. Above her floats blind-folded Cupid, shooting his darts into the midst of the dancing graces. At the left Mercury reaches up with his rod, perhaps to drive away the clouds from before the face of spring, who is apparently personified in the tall flower-decked woman who comes, at the other side of the picture, scattering flowers from the abundance that she carries in the folds of her dress. Beside her runs Flora, dropping flowers from her mouth and looking back over her shoulder at Zephyr, who teases her by blowing his chilly breath on her thinly clad body as he tries to catch her. The theme would seem to be the goddess of love welcoming the coming of spring. The contrast between the playfulness in the group of Zephyr and the running nymph and the note of sadness in other faces can be explained as indicating the mixed feeling of joy and sadness that any sensitive person may feel at the turning of the seasons: exhilaration in the perception of new life, pensive sadness in the realization that death will so soon succeed the birth.

Fortunately, as in a symphony we do not need words to enjoy the music, here we do not need allegory to enjoy the painting. The picture bears cutting into details wonderfully well: the work is done with miniature-like care, and figures like the Venus or Spring, or the group of the graces, seem complete taken alone. Yet the composition is perfect as a whole. The interplay of movement and quiet, of swaying and upright figures is stabilized by the tapestry-like hedge in the background, where the straight trunks penciled against the light sky terminate in a thick, impenetrable mass of foliage and fruit.

The Primavera was commissioned by a Medici, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, for the Medici villa of Castello. It was originally much brighter in color than now; the profuse sprinkling of gold and much of the brightness of coloring have been destroyed in the process of ridding the panel of worms. Botticelli's training in the atelier of Antonio Pollaiuolo is evident throughout the picture. The peculiar proportions of the figures derive from that workshop (cf. no. 670), as does also the pose of some of the figures, with hips thrown far to one side (cf. no. 792). The tapestry-like background may have been suggested by Antonio's engraving of the Battle of the Nudes, though the two works probably go back to a common source, tapestry designs.

821

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

St. Augustine

Fresco

Florence, Ognissanti

The influence of Pollaiuolo is notable in the fresco of St. Augustine that Botticelli painted in the church of Ognissanti as a companion-piece to Ghirlandaio's St. Jerome (no. 813). The two pictures were originally on the screen that separated the choir and the nave; they were removed in 1564 to their present position on the walls of the nave, where they appear somewhat out of keeping with their surroundings. They were probably commissioned by the same man, a member of the Vespucci family; and they were painted in the same year, 1480, just a year before the two artists, along with others, were painting in the Sistine Chapel (cf. nos. 814, 823). The contrast between the literal, unimpassioned Ghirlandaio and the emotional Botticelli is striking in the two compositions. Ghirlandaio painted a quiet, dignified figure in a surrounding more interesting than the saint; Botticelli centered the interest on the emotional face, the sensitiveness of which is enhanced by the tense, angular disposition of the hands. These hands are especially reminiscent of Pollaiuolo. The accessories of the saint's study are convincingly represented, but not with the minutiae that we find in Botticelli's panel paintings.

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Magnificat (c. 1480)

Tempera on Wood. Diameter, 3 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Botticelli delighted in the round composition that came into fashion when he was a boy. He used it a number of times for the Madonna. The most famous of these tondi, in spite of its being marred by repainting, is the Magnificat. The picture gets its name from the song which the Virgin is writing: "Glorify my soul. . . ." Assisted by angels, who hold her book and inkwell, and by the little Christ, Who guides her hand, she is penning her own praise. She is not only proclaimed as blessed among women, but she is conceived as Queen of Heaven: above her head two angels hold a crown, and the glory of the Holy Ghost descends upon her. But in this moment of her greatest glory, while she composes her song of joy, she touches with her left hand the pomegranate, symbol of death, as well as of life, and she is filled with pensive sadness. The premonition of the passing of present joys seems to have been ever-present to Botticelli. We see it in his allegorical subjects, as the Primavera (no. 820), and we see it in his religious paintings. His gift for representing that feeling made his Madonna pictures the best of his religious subjects, for the Virgin is the paramount example of the life of joy mixed with sorrow.

Restoration has marred the Magnificat in some respects, but we can still enjoy the beautiful composition. Some think Botticelli surpassed it in his tondo of the Madonna and Six Angels in the Uffizi; but no round composition by any other artist has quite equaled its perfect unity and rhythm. Botticelli is now quite far from the types of Filippo Lippi. The faces have become more elongated. The head of the Virgin is very close to a sketch in the Louvre by Leonardo, who was working in Florence at this time. The hair has the quality of goldsmith work, learned, no doubt, from Pollaiuolo. Pollaiuolo probably furnished also the inspiration for the landscape that is visible through an opening between the figures; it is that winding river landscape of the Arno valley.

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Moses in the Land of Midian (c. 1481)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Botticelli was one of the artists called by Sixtus IV in 1481 to decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel. Besides portraits of several of the early popes, he painted three of the large compositions. The pope's plans called for six scenes from the life of Christ on the right wall, and six scenes from the life of Moses (the Old Testament parallel of Christ) on the left wall. Botticelli painted one scene on the right wall, the Temptation of Christ, and two on the left wall, Moses in the Land of Midian and the Punishment of Korah. All three compositions show the superiority of the artist's aesthetic sense to his dramatic comprehension. Graceful figures in lively movement, with fluttering drapery, are introduced without much consideration of their part in the episode represented; the most pictorial episode, rather than the one of most significance dramatically, is given greatest prominence in the composition. Thus in the Early Life of Moses a scene which is comparatively insignificant in the Biblical narrative, the Watering of the Flocks of the Daughters of Jethro, is made the principal subject. Beneath a large tree in the foreground the attractive young Moses draws water for the flocks while his future wife and her sister look on with expressions of mingled gratitude and admiration. Grouped about this are episodes leading up to it and succeeding it: at the right Moses slays the Egyptian, flees into the wilderness to escape the wrath of Pharaoh, and drives away the shepherds who would mistreat the daughters of Jethro. Above he removes his shoes and kneels before the Burning Bush to receive God's message. In the left foreground, in pursuance of God's command, he is leading the Israelites out of Egypt. Close behind him come the members

of his family, among whom are his wife and children and Aaron.

This picture and the other two that Botticelli painted in the Sistine Chapel series are disappointing. Botticelli was not a narrative painter, the traditional scheme of crowding into one frame a variety of distinct episodes probably offended his aesthetic sense. At any rate, he has not done it very successfully, and the composition is somewhat confused and decentralized. A rather better combination of successive scenes, because simpler in arrangement, is to be seen in the panel of three miracles of St. Zenobius in the Metropolitan Museum. This beautiful little panel by Botticelli, along with two others in European collections, was probably used originally on an ecclesiastical chest.

824

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Birth of Venus (c. 1485)

Tempera on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

With the Primavera (no. 820) one always associates the Birth of Venus. They are related in subject matter and feeling; and they were painted for the same patron and the same purpose - Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici commissioned the Birth of Venus as well as the Primavera for his villa of Castello. In a passage of Poliziano's poem of the Giostra, adapted from a Homeric hymn, we have a description which probably influenced Botticelli. We are told how Venus Anadyomene, the sea-born goddess of love and beauty, was blown by the soft breath of the Zephyrs over the foam of the Aegean Sea to the shores of Cythera, where the Seasons welcomed her and decked her in a star-sown robe, and where countless flowers sprang up for her to tread upon.

Botticelli has deviated from the literary version in eliminating two of the Seasons. Only Spring, here gayer and less sedate than in the Primavera, hurries to cover the goddess with a flowered mantle. As the orange grove background united the contrasting units of the Primavera, here the conventional waves of the sea bind together the rushing Zephyrs on the left and the hurrying Season on the right with the quiet, passive Venus in the middle. In this picture, painted certainly later than the Primavera, probably several years after Botticelli's visit to Rome, the influence of classical art is more obvious than in most of his work: the pose of Venus is taken with but little change from the Venus de' Medici, now in the Uffizi (no. 147). But the expression here has no relation to the antique. Again, as in so much of Botticelli's work, a joyous, triumphant moment is touched with sadness; the goddess of pleasure seems to divine that "in all pleasures there is satiety." Perhaps in this painting better than in any other we can enjoy the "singing line" of Botticelli. Only Ingres (cf. no. 1160) has equaled the impeccable drawing of the Venus.

825

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

St. Augustine (c. 1495)

Tempera on Wood. H. 16 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Botticelli's little panel of St. Augustine in the Uffizi contrasts sharply with his early version of the same subject in the fresco of Ognissanti (no. 821). At first sight the Uffizi panel seems more like Ghirlandaio's prosaic rendering of a similar subject (no. 813), a fact which explains how it could once have been attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi. Closer study makes more reasonable the later attribution to Botticelli. The saint is deeply absorbed in his writing. The puckering of his eyebrows, the dilation of his nostrils, the cramping of his hand, as well as the pens and rejected sheets thrown on the floor, indicate the haste of his work. The room in which he works is reduced to a mere alcove, hardly deep enough, beyond the door where he sits, to hold him. Only

the three tondo reliefs and a garland molding on the arch make up the ornament of the room.

826 a, b

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Allegory of Calumny (c. 1498)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 3½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

The character of Botticelli's art is to be explained in no small measure by his interest in Savonarola. He was a faithful disciple of that friar and listened with fear and trembling to his prophecies. The uncertain, mystic, melancholy emotion that surges through the younger members of the modern evangelist's following is expressed in the faces of many of Botticelli's figures. Sensitive as he was, the downfall of his hero was a terrible shock to him. Perhaps it was the heaping of accusations and blasphemies upon Savonarola, leading to his execution, that caused Botticelli to paint the allegorical masterpiece called Calumny. The date of the picture is uncertain and, so far as we know, it was not painted to fill a commission. Botticelli gave it to his most intimate friend, Antonio Segni. He has followed closely the description of the painting of the same subject by Apelles, possibly in the original by Lucian, possibly in the version which we read in Alberti's Treatise on Painting. But that indicates no less originality in Botticelli than to say that in some religious subjects he followed the Biblical narration. The version in the Uffizi panel is neither Lucian's, nor Alberti's; it is wholly Botticelli's.

Calumny, fastidiously dressed and carrying a torch in her left hand, comes dragging Innocence by the hair. She is attended by Deceit and Treachery, who add adornments to her hair and dress. She is preceded by Envy, who guides her to the Judge, into whose "Midas ears" Ignorance and Suspicion pour advice. Behind the middle group the old hag Remorse glares over her shoulder at Naked Truth, who stands pointing heavenward.

The movement in this picture is even more agitated than in the Primavera and the Birth of Venus. But, as in those compositions, there are stabilizing forces - the combination of stiff, vertical and sharp, angular lines of the dark forms of Remorse and Envy. The clear-cut pilasters of the handsome Renaissance loggia in which the action takes place and the placid sea beyond are other forces in binding together the units of the composition. Classical and Biblical subjects stand side by side in the profuse bas relief decorations of the architecture. We see, for instance, centaurs and satyrs disporting themselves, Judith standing in a niche with the head of Holofernes, St. George standing with sword and shield in an attitude suggested by Donatello's statue for Or San Michele.

On this small panel every detail is worked out with utmost care; all the charm of a miniature is combined with the monumentality of Renaissance frescoes, for the details are surrounded by ample space.

827

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510)

Mystical Nativity (1500)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6½ in.

London, National Gallery

A more certain reference to Savonarola is to be found in the panel of the Nativity which Botticelli painted two years after the friar's death. At the top of the picture, inscribed in Greek letters, we read: "This picture I, Alessandro, painted at the end of the year 1500, during the troubles of Italy in the half time after the time which was prophesied in the eleventh of St. John and the second woe of the Apocalypse, when the devil was loosed upon the

earth for three years and a half. Afterwards he shall be put in chains according to the twelfth, and we shall see him trodden under foot as in this picture." As a matter of fact, we see three apparitions of the devil in the foreground of the picture. In each case he hurries off into hiding, frightened by the vision of angels embracing three monks, evidently Savonarola and his two fellow-martyrs being welcomed to paradise. Further back in the picture, before a grove that recalls the background of the Primavera (no. 820), the Madonna kneels in adoration before the Child, while Joseph crouches in meditation or sleep. The shelter over the Holy Family is a combination of the cave and pent-roof types. On the roof three angels sing the Gloria in excelsis and, above, the sky is filled with joyous dancing angels carrying laurel branches from which depend crowns and fluttering scrolls. At right and left of the Holy Family angels bring the shepherds and Magi to view the wonder. How different from that early Adoration of the Magi (no. 819)! There is no pomp and circumstance here; the Magi are dressed in simplest costume; only laurel wreathes adorn their heads. They are not portraits; they are representatives of that part of humanity whose faith in Christ is intellectual, as the shepherds represent that part whose faith is emotional. Like the great Crucifixion by Fra Angelico (no. 776), this Nativity is conceived not as a historical event but as a mystic vision. In his effort to get intensity of expression, Botticelli has gone farther in this than in any other of his paintings in the distortion of bodies and exaggeration of movement. As if anxious to record his emotions before their intensity has abated, he has abjured much of his knowledge of anatomy and has been careless in his drawing of faces. But the emotion, the unreal figures, the rich oil colors, so seldom used by Botticelli, give an idyllic charm to the picture that compensates. Comparable to this picture in intensity of emotion and richness of coloring, though finer in execution of details, is the somewhat earlier panel of the Last Communion, of St. Jerome in the Metropolitan Museum.

828

School of Sandro Botticelli

Portrait of a Young Man (c. 1475?)

Tempera on Wood. Life-Size

Chicago, Property of Mr. S.D. Stout

Botticelli's early Adoration of the Magi (no. 819) furnishes ample proof of his ability as a portrait painter. A number of separate portraits have come down to us that can be attributed either to the master himself or to his school. A very beautiful example is the bust of a young man from the Liechtenstein collection now in America. This youth might almost have stepped out of that princely retinue of the Wise Men; but the forms do not have quite the surety and firmness of drawing that one learns to expect from Botticelli.

829

Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521)

Death of Procris

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 1½ in.

London, National Gallery

Piero di Cosimo, pupil of Cosimo Rosselli, was akin to Botticelli in his fanciful pictures, frequently based on mythology. His landscape, of which we see a beautiful example in the Death of Procris, introduced a new era in Central Italian painting. It is no longer that detailed topographical scenery popular with the school of Domenico Veneziano (cf. no. 795). Nor is it so conventional as Ghirlandaio's (cf. no. 814), where high hills frame in the middle river view. Piero painted a landscape of wonderful breadth and openness, with a low horizon line and a haziness in the distance that suggests infinite space. Perhaps this landscape is partly to be explained by Northern influence, as may also be the case with the fine animal painting and the coloring of the picture. Piero seems to have learned from Hugo van der Goes'

Portinari altarpiece, then familiar to all Florentines, to model not merely with light and shade, but with color: in this he surpassed Masaccio and approached the perfection of Leonardo da Vinci. The botanical studies, too, of Leonardo are suggested by the detailed flowers and plants of our picture, drawn with keen appreciation of the varied forms.

On the flower-sprinkled meadow Procris, favorite of Diana, lies dead. She had been provoked to jealousy by false rumors of inconstancy in her husband, Cephalus, and had followed him when he went out to hunt with the dog and javelin that Diana had given her. Mistaking her sob for the sound of an animal starting up at his approach, Cephalus had thrown the javelin into the bushes and unwittingly slain his loved wife. Piero shows her mourned by her faithful dog and a young fawn.

830

Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521)

Hunting Scene

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 4 in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The sympathy with nature that Piero expressed in the Death of Procris became almost a creed with him in two panels in the Metropolitan Museum. Here his landscape is filled with primitive men, devoid of all the culture and sophistication of the people of Piero's day, who so troubled his eccentric spirit. In the Hunting Scene Piero has represented his primitive men as but one step in advance of wild animals, which men overcome by means of their one advantage - the ability to produce fire. With fire they are frightening the animals so that they can fall upon and slay their otherwise equal rivals in the struggle for existence. The fawns, satyrs, and centaurs that join in the fray serve as a kind of connecting link between men and animals, though the suggestion that Piero had a belief comparable to that of the modern theory of evolution, or that he believed that such hybrid forms as satyrs and centaurs did exist in some prehistoric age is unfounded. He merely found the mythological conceptions of these creatures of nature attractive.

The evident delight which Piero took in representing the nude bodies in vigorous action indicates a relationship to Signorelli. The handling of the oil medium and the general tone of dull browns and olive greens may have been influenced by Leonardo. The weird fantasy of the subject matter of the Hunting Scene seems a prophecy of Boecklin. Equally fanciful is the Metropolitan companion piece, in which primitive men, together with the hybrid creatures, having overcome the animal world, are bringing their female companions to feast on the prizes of the hunt and make merry in a woodland dell.

These panels were probably used in some such decoration as Vasari describes by Piero: "He also executed, round a chamber in the house of Francesco del Pugliese, various stories with little figures; nor is it possible to describe the variety of fantastic things which he delighted to paint in all these stories, what with the buildings, the animals, the costumes, the various instruments, and other fancies which came into his head, since the stories were drawn from fables." Two panels in European collections are closely related to the two in the Metropolitan Museum in subject matter, color scheme, and measurements (the lengths vary, but the heights are almost identical); they may possibly have belonged to the same series of decorations.

Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521)

Cleopatra

Tempera on Wood. Life-Size

Chantilly, Musee Conde

Vasari mentions a bust of Cleopatra by Piero di Cosimo, which is probably to be identified with the bust at Chantilly inscribed SIMONETTA IANVENSIS VESPCCIA. The inscription, which is the Latin form of the name of the beautiful woman loved by Giuliano de' Medici, is usually assumed to be a later addition. The style of the letters seems later; and, moreover, Simonetta Vespucci died when Piero di Cosimo was only fourteen years old. We may probably account for the inscription by the fact that the picture was once owned by the Vespucci family. If we interpret the bust as Cleopatra, the reptile necklace must refer to that heroine's choice of death rather than slavery: to escape being captured by Caesar, she exposed herself to the sting of an asp. Piero's interpretation of the story is characteristic of him. Cleopatra, in the full bloom of youth and beauty, sits before a broad landscape, her mantle thrown back, her whole pose and expression suggestive of her conscious pleasure in her physical charms. She seems unaware of the asp that glides over her bare shoulders. Piero seems to be laughing at the tragedy. There is something of the enigmatic, puzzling quality in the picture that we so often feel in the work of Leonardo da Vinci.

Lippi, Filippino (1457-1504)

St. Peter before Nero, and Crucifixion of St. Peter (1484)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

We have already had occasion to see something of Filippino Lippi's work in a composition of Masaccio's which he finished in the Brancacci Chapel (no. 773). There we saw in the portraits that he added in the scene of the Resuscitation of the King's Son much of the dignity of Masaccio without the perfect unity of the earlier part of the picture. One notes, too, the rather distracting effect of the minutely drawn paneled wall, surmounted by flower pots, in the background. Much the same criticism applies to the large composition of the Trial and Crucifixion of St. Peter, which Filippino carried out alone - possibly Masaccio had left tentative designs for it. The story is told in a matter-of-fact way. There is none of that strict centralization of interest, none of that pulsation of dramatic feeling through the picture that we get in the Tribute Money (no. 771). We are not made to feel that the event here represented was one of supreme importance in the history of the Church. The opening in the middle of the picture, with a bright distant view, tends to carry the eye out of the main theme and to break up the composition. But the individual figures do have a breadth and dignity almost worthy of Masaccio himself. Filippino's best work in the chapel is the small compositions, St. Paul Visiting St. Peter in Prison, and the Liberation of St. Peter. In such pictures, where it is a question of only two or three figures, with no room for a mass of distracting details, Filippino becomes a great master. The disparity between the work of Filippino and Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel is less remarkable than the similarity. It is remarkable that a painter of such different tendencies should be able to follow the great master so closely that only the discerning visitor to the chapel can distinguish between the works of the two: modeling in light and shade, gravity of expression, and dignity of form here displace Filippino's normal linear technique, sentimental expression, and tendency to triviality of form.

Lippi, Filippino (1457-1504)

The Virgin Appearing to St. Bernard (1480-1482)

Tempera on Wood. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, Badia

In the decorations of the Brancacci Chapel, Filippino Lippi attained a high level by close emulation of Masaccio. In the Vision of St. Bernard he is a master in his own right. This picture was painted for the Badia, or abbey church, of Florence, where it still remains. It dates a little earlier than the work in the Brancacci chapel, and is done in the linear style that Filippino learned from his father and something of the mystical spirit that he learned from his master Botticelli.

The subject of the picture is based on St. Bernard's promulgation of the cult of the Virgin. The writings of that saint were largely influential in the rise of Mariolatry in the thirteenth century. Filippino has represented the Virgin herself appearing to the saint as he is busy with his writing. She is a sweet-faced maiden, who feels somewhat timid and embarrassed at finding herself at a monastery. The angels, who form her escort, are likewise shy, but curious. Their childish faces recall the creations of Filippino's worldly father (cf. nos. 780, 781); their elongated forms and fluttering draperies are patterned on the style of Botticelli (cf. nos. 820, 823). In the background, monks are discussing the supernatural event, and in the lower right-hand corner kneels the donor of the picture, Piero di Francesco del Pugliese. The excellence of this portrait and others in the early works of Filippino indicate the field in which his greatest talent lay.

The delicate sentiment of the picture, which just misses sentimentality, the graceful forms, and the bright, cheerful coloring combine to produce one of the most pleasing impressions that the visitor to Florence carries away with him.

Lippi, Filippino (1457-1504)

Adoration of the Magi (1496)

Tempera on Wood. H. 8 ft., 3½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Under the date of July 2 - 5, 1481, the journal of the monks of S. Donato at Scopeto, a monastery just south of Florence, mentions a contract that some months earlier had been entered into with Leonardo da Vinci for the painting of an altarpiece. It was to be completed in twenty-four, or at most thirty, months. Documents show that Leonardo was still working on it in September, 1481. Soon after that he apparently lost interest in it, turning to other commissions. After waiting fifteen years the monks of S. Donato transferred the commission to Filippino Lippi, who painted for them the Adoration of the Magi now in the Uffizi. Though the documents do not mention the subject of the altarpiece commenced by Leonardo, it is usually assumed that it was the same as the one represented by Filippino and that Leonardo's unfinished panel of the Adoration of the Magi now in the Uffizi (no. 806) is the very one that he started for the monks of S. Donato. It is certain at least that Filippino based his composition on Leonardo's Adoration of the Magi: he used almost precisely the same size and shape of panel; he made the same general disposition of the figures in the foreground - the Madonna and the Magi forming one pyramid, enclosed by another pyramid of spectators; he attempted to give the same motive of interested discussion to the shepherds in the outskirts of the group; he even imitated the attitudes and gestures of some of the individual figures, as of the shepherd with open mouth and raised hands, and the old man gesticulating at the right. It is unnecessary to say that nothing of the deep psychological significance of Leonardo's masterpiece was caught by Filippino. The later picture is filled with colorful, pleasing details, but they are not well bound together. Filippino was not able to get anything from

Leonardo's dim, sketchy background except, perhaps, some of the spirited movement for his horses in the conventional calvacade of the Magi that we see winding among the hills of the distant landscape.

835

Melozzo da Forli (1438-1494)

Pope Sixtus IV and His Court (1475-1480)

Fresco Transferred to Canvas. Figures Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Picture Gallery

The monumentality of Piero della Francesca was fully appreciated by his Umbrian pupil, Melozzo da Forli, who absorbed, too, his master's knowledge of linear and aerial perspective. Melozzo was awake to all the progressive movements of his day. From the Florentines he acquired an added sense of reality and athletic strength in his figures; from the Paduans he probably got help in his dome compositions; from the Flemings, through Justus of Ghent, he obtained a greater richness of coloring.

Between 1475 and 1480 Melozzo painted a large picture on the wall of the library of Sixtus IV in the Vatican commemorating that pope's restoration of the Vatican Library and his appointment of Platina as librarian. The scene of the investiture is the subject of the fresco, now transferred to canvas and hung in the Vatican picture gallery. Platina kneels before the seated pope; Sixtus' nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the future Pope Julius II, with an apostolic protonotary, stands at the right, and two lesser personages stand at the left. All the figures have the monumental self-sufficiency of those drawn by Piero della Francesca; the physical presentation of each man could hardly be more convincing; and the character of each is interpreted with remarkable insight.

One can find no fault with the perspective of the architecture; under the guidance of Piero, Melozzo has mastered that art. We are looking into a room of the old Vatican Library, possibly, though an exact reproduction of those rooms would have vaulted, instead of coffered, ceilings. On the pillars that frame the picture at the sides are intertwining branches with oak leaves and acorns, emblems of the Rovere family.

836

Signorelli, Luca (1441-1523), and Don Bartolommeo della Gatta

Last Days of Moses (c. 1481)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Though trained like Melozzo da Forli in Piero della Francesca's atelier, Luca Signorelli, another Umbrian, was attracted far more by the Florentines. Not the quiet, majestic forms of Piero, but the contorted, straining nudes of Pollaiuolo appealed to this experimenter. Linear and aerial perspective, color, and landscape are matters that he seems to have quite turned his back upon for the sake of devoting his entire attention to studies of the nude body in action.

This criticism is not entirely applicable to Signorelli's early works. He painted a fine mythological scene of Pan with a group of other divinities (no. 837) in which the obvious interest in studies of the nude body does not wholly exclude an idyllic sentiment. There is a decided lyrical quality, too, in the fresco that he painted in the Sistine Chapel, when, in 1481, he was one of those artists called by Sixtus IV to join in the decoration of the walls. His Umbrian lineage is here manifest. Especially in the slender, graceful forms in the left background, in the feathery trees, and in the quiet, hazy landscape we perceive a relationship to Perugino, that great exponent of Umbrian sentiment. Only the nude figure seated in the middle foreground and some of the vigorous male figures among the crowd suggest the future trend of the artist's development. Competing here with great artists of his time,

Signorelli has been quite conservative, has devoted great care to the composition, which is clear and well balanced, and has set forth in the prescribed order the usual incidents of the end of Moses' life. At the right the patriarch sits on an eminence (below, in front of him, is an altar of Roman form and decoration), reading from a book, apparently giving his last admonitions to the Israelites. At the left he gives his rod to the kneeling Aaron. On a cliff (Mount Horeb) in the middle background an angel shows him the land of Canaan lying in the rich valley below; he comes down from the cliff; and in the left background is his burial.

The modeling of the forms with a softer, less harsh touch than is usual with Signorelli may be due to his having furnished little more than the design for the work; much of the execution was probably entrusted to an assistant, Don Bartolommeo della Gatta.

837

Signorelli, Luca (1441-1523)

The School of Pan (c. 1484)

Oil on canvas. H. 6 ft., 5 in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

The consummate expression of Signorelli's idyllic phase is the School of Pan, sometimes called also Pan as God of Natural Life and Master of Music with His Attendants. The picture was probably painted for Lorenzo de' Medici to decorate his villa at Castello, where it would then have been a companion piece to the mythological canvases painted by Botticelli for that villa, the Birth of Venus and the Primavera (nos. 820, 824). The spirit of these pictures is so consistently maintained throughout Botticelli's career that one tends to account for it as a personal idiosyncrasy. But when one looks at the whole field of Italian painting the mystic, pagan spirit appears as a widespread expression of the adolescent age of the Renaissance. The newly acquired consciousness of nature, of people, of self was betrayed in painting in a kind of ecstatic sadness and longing, as inexplicable, in a way, to the painters themselves as to us. In Florence we see it particularly in the works of Piero di Cosimo and Botticelli and the early works of Signorelli. In Siena, where art was at this time in decline, it is echoed but faintly, in the work of Francesco di Giorgio, for example (no. 734). But in Venice, where art was just approaching its zenith, the idyllic, poetic sentiment is stronger than anywhere else, determining the whole Giorgionismo movement (cf., e.g., nos. 920-926). It was natural that in Venice this universal spirit should have been expressed largely through color, while in Florence it was expressed primarily by linear design.

Whatever charm of color Signorelli's School of Pan may once have had - and other of his works would lead us to expect a certain amount - it has now lost. It appears to have been injured, probably stained, in some way. At any rate, it is now harsh and unpleasant in color, and the shadows cut too sharply against the lights. But it is powerful, nevertheless. The strong, bronzed male figures are splendid expressions of physical vitality, and the female figure has a grace that is scarcely expected in Signorelli. The landscape background does not show the appreciation of nature that we feel in the pictures by Piero di Cosimo and Botticelli and certainly nothing of the understanding love of nature that is so vital a part of Giorgionism. It is used more as a symbol, a symbol of Mother Earth, who gives birth to man. The composition has the general character of a Madonna enthroned with saints: attendants play on musical instruments or bend like saints in adoration.

The symbolism of the picture seems to be explained in part by a passage from the fourth century writer Servius (note on Virgil's Bucolics, ii, line 31, "Imitabere Pana canendo"), which was probably brought to Signorelli's attention by one of the pantheistic scholars of Lorenzo de' Medici's court. A translation of the passage runs as follows;

"For Pan is a rustic god, formed in the similitude of nature, whence also he is called Pan, that is, All-things. And he has horns in the likeness of the sun's rays and the moon's horns. His face is ruddy in likeness to ether. On his breast is a starred fawn skin, an image of the stars. His lower part is

hispid on account of the trees, undergrowth, and wild beasts. He has goat's feet to show the solidity of the earth. He has a pipe of seven reeds in accordance with the harmony of the heavens in which there are seven zones. He has a shepherd's staff or crook: this is a recurved wand in accordance with the solar year which returns upon itself. And since he is the god of all nature, poets have feigned that he strove with Love, and by him was overcome, since we read that 'Love conquers all things.' So Pan, according to the fables, loved the nymph Syrinx, who, when he followed her, called upon the Earth for help, and was turned into a reed, which Pan to solace his love cut and made into a pipe."

This quotation explains the appearance of Pan, ruddy of flesh, with the horns of the moon on his head and a starry mantle about his shoulders, with the shaggy goat legs, and with the peculiar staff in one hand and the seven pipes in the other. It also designates as Syrinx the female figure in the left foreground who holds long reeds. Echo may well be the pensive seated figure in the background. Moreover, the passage explains the peculiar combination of the sunset afterglow of the sky with the lights and shadows across the foreground that indicate a late afternoon sun hanging in the sky at the right: there is apparently an attempt to combine twilight and sunlight effects, as if showing at the same time the light of sun, moon, and stars, with which the Latin writer associates Pan. But the passage does not explain the four attendant male figures. In keeping with the spirit of the passage, however, is the suggestion that these male figures may represent four phases "of human life as it would be if Pan were the supreme god. The first phase is devoted to love; the youth lying on the ground gazes with rapt ecstasy at Syrinx, the ewig weibliche. The second phase is that of the cultivation of rustic arts, typified by the man playing the pipe. The third is that of intellectual activity, the middle-aged man who reasons with Pan. The fourth, devoted to reverie and retrospection, is seen in the old man to the extreme right."

The picture is signed on a small tablet attached to the reed in Syrinx's right hand: LVCA CORTONEN.

838

Signorelli, Luca (1441-1523)

The Damned (1500)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Orvieto, Cathedral

Signorelli's commission to decorate the chapel of S. Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral gave him an opportunity to indulge to the full his interest in the nude human body in action. Fra Angelico, half a century earlier, had commenced the decorations, covering part of the vaulting with choirs of angels. Signorelli's duty was to fill the walls with scenes of the End of the World: the Preaching of Antichrist, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Calling of the Elect, and the Condemnation of the Wicked form the four subjects. One can hardly imagine a greater contrast than that between the spiritually minded Fra Angelico and the physically minded Signorelli. As Fra Angelico was most successful in the portrayal of the Blessed, Signorelli was at his best in representing the Damned. Physical suffering offers a chance for greater variety of pose and facial expression than physical joy. In Signorelli's scene of the Elect he could only vary slightly the graceful S-shaped pose, so much used by Perugino, and tip the head up and direct the gaze on the angel choir above. In the scene of the Damned bodies are contorted in every conceivable manner: they tremble with fear, recoil in horror, strain at the bonds of relentless demons, fall headlong through the air, rush wildly from their tormentors, relax helplessly in the face of their inevitable doom. Of hell itself we see only some flames at the left into which powerful demons are hurling their victims. The whole picture is a seething mass of writhing, struggling bodies, above which the armored archangels look calmly down or stride across the sky to wreak revenge upon an isolent demon.

Despite the intricacy of the composition, the forms are all worked out with anatomical exactness and are accurately distinguished one from another. For it was, after all, human anatomy that chiefly interested Signorelli, not the horrors of hell. Though he was inattentive to some of the lessons of his

master Piero, he studied diligently the problem of light and shade; that is what made possible his clarity of modeling. The colorless, sculpturesque nudes of the Sistine ceiling are the legitimate descendants of Signorelli's creations. Much in Michelangelo's Last Judgment is derived from this composition of the damned.

839

Perugino, Pietro (1446-1524)

Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter (c. 1481)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Sistine Chapel

It is hard to believe that Signorelli and Perugino grew out of the same background, so great is the contrast between their works. Yet, not only were they both Umbrians, but Perugino had as much opportunity to feel Florentine influence as did Signorelli: Perugino was a fellow-pupil with Leonardo da Vinci in the studio of Verrocchio. It is only rarely that Florentine solidity affects his pictures; his ideals are more in harmony with the dreamy character of his native Umbrian scenery than with matter-of-fact Florence. His importance in the history of art is largely due to the fact that he was the teacher of Raphael, and that, in his borrowings from many artists, Raphael always came back in his most successful pictures to the Umbrian qualities represented by Perugino.

Perugino's high reputation in his day is proven by the fact that he was commissioned to paint more wall space in the Sistine Chapel than any other one man. His three compositions on the altar wall were subsequently replaced by Michelangelo's Last Judgment, but his three on the side wall remain. Of these the finest, and for the Church the most important picture in the chapel, is the Delivery of the Keys of Paradise to St. Peter. It is on this act of Christ's that the popes, successors of St. Peter, base their control of the destiny of the soul. The subject called for a dignified, imposing conception. Perugino treated it very simply and clearly, with Christ and St. Peter in the middle and the apostles and a few additional spectators grouped at either side. The figures have more than Perugino's usual solidity; some of them approach monumentality, though meaningless gestures usually mar the effect.

When he had fulfilled his obligations with the Delivery of the Keys in the foreground, Perugino used the rest of the composition for his own entertainment. He stretched out a wide piazza, the extent of which is emphasized by the lines of the pavement converging toward a common vanishing point. Numerous figures scattered over the middle distance have no other purpose than to accentuate by their small size the depth of the piazza. At the far side Perugino has copied with painstaking exactness the two sides of the Arch of Constantine and some Bramantesque building. He may have intended some suggestion of the investiture of both temporal and spiritual power in the popes by this representation of both secular and religious buildings. On beyond, a quiet Umbrian landscape reaches to the horizon.

840 a,b,c

Perugino, Pietro (1446-1524)

Crucifixion, with the Magdalene, Other Saints, and the Virgin (1493-1496)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Florence, S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi

In the cloister of S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi Perugino has shown himself a worthy teacher of the great composer Raphael in the adaptation of his composition to the shape of the wall space which he was commissioned to decorate. He has accepted the three divisions, has emphasized them by painting an architectural framework consisting of three arches resting on pilasters with a column between each pair of pilasters. Through these arches is disclosed

the mystic vision of the Crucifixion: in the middle the Magdalene kneels at the foot of the cross; at the left are the Virgin and St. Bernard; at the right are St. John the Evangelist and St. Benedict. The composition is built up on a perfectly simple scheme, the figures balance perfectly right and left, the one figure at the foot of the cross in the middle panel is balanced by the dark mass of hills and trees at the other side of the cross. Every gesture and every detail of pose are studied. One feels that no head could be turned differently, no tree could be changed without disturbing the perfect equilibrium. Such symmetry and composure of design are suitable only for a subject of perfect peace and quiet. There is even less display of turbulent emotion in this than in Fra Angelico's Mystic Crucifixion (no. 776). Here all the witnesses of the Crucified One are absorbed in quiet meditation. They are not impressed by the physical suffering of Christ; they are exalted by the supreme manifestation of his love for mankind. In harmony with their quiet mood of contemplation is the peaceful Umbrian landscape that lies in the background bathed in soft evening light.

It should be noted that a horizontal strip across the bottom of the fresco has been repainted. This is responsible for the extension of the cross down to the very bottom of the picture so that it comes far in front of the Magdalene; it originally ended beside her.

841

Perugino, Pietro (1446-1524)

Madonna with Four Saints (1496)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 4 in.

Rome, Vatican, Picture Gallery

Done in the same spirit as the S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi fresco (no. 840) is the altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints painted for the chapel of the Palazzo Comunale, Perugia, and now in the Vatican. The fresco and the altarpiece were executed at about the same time, though the commission for the latter was given thirteen years earlier, in 1483. At the top it had a lunette of the Pieta, which, after the altarpiece had been taken to Paris in 1797, was restored to Perugia, where it is now exhibited in the Museo Comunale. Like the Crucifixion this group of the Madonna and Saints is conceived in a symbolical, rather than a realistic, sense. The Virgin, the Child, and the saints are all self-absorbed, meditative. A spirit of peace and quiet broods over the group and is echoed in glimpses of the landscape background and maintained by the absolute symmetry and simplicity of the design. The Madonna is a perfect example of Perugino's fully developed style, sweet and pensive, richly endowed with passive virtues, innocent of active qualities of any sort.

At first sight, one might take this to be a forerunner of Fra Bartolommeo's compositions (cf. nos. 845, 846). But closer study reveals more dissimilarity than likeness: the composition is very loose in comparison with those of the later master and, though the figures are placed one behind another, the effect is essentially flat except for the depth suggested in the throne.

Beneath the Madonna's feet runs the inscription: HOC - PETRVS - DE CHASTRO PLEBIS - PINXIT.

842

Pintorricchio, Bernardo (1454-1513)

Scenes from Life of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1505-1507)

Fresco. Figures in Foreground, c. Life-Size

Siena, Cathedral, Piccolomini Library

Pintorricchio might be called the Benozzo Gozzoli or the Carpaccio of Umbrian art. He was the story-teller of the school and, like Gozzoli and Carpaccio, he told his stories in a cheerful vein, with emphasis on pretty

details. Pintorricchio was for some years Perugino's partner. He has been much depreciated by art historians, who feel that the gentle, effeminate Peruginesque forms are tolerable only when endowed with some religious or poetical significance.

The work by which Pintorricchio is best known is the decoration of the Piccolomini Library in the cathedral at Siena. Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini built the library, starting the work in 1492, to house the valuable manuscripts that had been collected by his uncle, the humanist Aeneas Sylvius, who as pope was called Pius II. The antique group of the Three Graces visible in our photograph was brought to the library by Francesco Piccolomini from his palace at Rome. It had a wide influence upon Renaissance artists; we have a painting and a drawing by Raphael that are based on it. Perugino was given the commission for the painted decorations of the room in 1502. September 21, 1503, Cardinal Piccolomini was elected pope, taking the name of Pius III. The ceiling of the library must have been nearly completed by that time, for in his coat of arms, which appears as a conspicuous part of the decoration, it is the cardinal's hat, not the papal tiara, that marks his office. Soon after this date Francesco Piccolomini died, and the decorations of the walls were postponed until 1505.

Ten scenes from the life of Aeneas Sylvius are portrayed on the walls. Each is enclosed within a painted architectural frame richly ornamented with lozenges and arabesques. The subjects of the ten compartments are as follows: Aeneas Sylvius departs for the Council of Basle; he is received by James I of Scotland as envoy from the Council of Basle; he is crowned poet laureate by Frederic III; he comes as ambassador of the emperor before the throne of Pope Eugenius IV; at the gates of Siena he presents the emperor with his bride, the Infanta of Portugal; he is made cardinal by Calixtus III in the Vatican; he is carried in a procession after his elevation to the papacy as Pius II; he presides at an assembly in Mantua at which a crusade is proclaimed; he canonizes St. Catherine of Siena; he gives the signal for the departure of the crusaders from Ancona.

The work is uneven, some of the compositions are finer than others. It has sometimes been thought that Raphael was responsible for part of the designs, but the drawings on which this hypothesis is based are now attributed to Pintorricchio and to later men who sketched from the completed decorations. The unevenness of quality is for the most part probably due to the employment in the work of variously gifted assistants. According to Pintorricchio's contract he was to have assistants, but "the cartoons and their transfer were to be done by himself, and all the heads finished with his own hand." The whole scheme of decoration is carried out with remarkable care. Costumes, trappings, and other accessories are precisely delineated. Landscape settings and buildings are in many cases identifiable; and the compositions are clearly arranged. It is entertaining to follow out the various episodes. But the decorative effect of the fresh colors and bright touches of gold is the chief attraction of the room. Pintorricchio showed his greatest ability in the ornamental frames of the wall paintings and in the decorations of the ceiling.

843

Pintorricchio, Bernardo (1454-1513)

Ceiling Painting from Palazzo del Magnifico, Siena (c. 1510)

Fresco Transferred to Canvas; Ornamental Reliefs

Cast from Originals still in situ. C. 15 ft. sq.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Piccolomini Library (no. 842) prepares one to look for Pintorricchio's peculiar merit in his painting of ornamental detail. A richly decorated ceiling like the one in the Metropolitan Museum shows him at his best. The subjects of the various panels are of no special significance. They are taken from classical mythology: the Judgment of Paris; the Hunt of the Calydonian Boar; the Triumphs of Mars, Amphitrite, Alexander, Apollo, Pluto and Proserpine, Ceres, Cybele; the Three Graces; Venus; Jupiter and Antiope; Bacchus and Silenus; the Rape of Europa; Hercules and Omphale; and a few other subjects

are represented. But they are no more important than the ornamental motives with which they are framed. Gilding, rich coloring, fascinating line design, and delicate stucco relief work together to form an attractive decoration.

The ceiling comes from the reception room in the Palazzo del Magnifico at Siena, which was built sometime in the years 1505-1510; presumably the ceiling was decorated about the time the building was completed.

844

Bartolommeo, Fra (1472-1517)

Deposition from the Cross (c. 1510?)

Oil on Wood. H. 5 ft.

Florence, Pitti

Fra Bartolommeo is decidedly a master of the High Renaissance. Though not one of the great masters himself, he furnished no little inspiration to men like Raphael and Michelangelo, especially in matters of composition and figure pose. He is important, further, in having introduced a richness of color into Florentine painting, which in the course of several generations had quite faded out. Fra Bartolommeo got his new interest in color, as well as much of his inspiration for his new type of composition, from the Venetians.

His trip to Venice in 1508 is responsible for the rich coloring of the Pieta in the Pitti. The black and white reproduction is very inadequate. Venetian color and Leonardesque sfumato largely determine the effect of the picture. In spite of the apparent freedom of the composition, every part of it is most carefully thought out and it is one of the most monumental of the artist's works. The arrangement is remarkably simple; every superfluous detail is excluded. In accordance with the ideals of the High Renaissance, the figures are as large as possible, as important as possible, and as few as possible. The center of interest is the ivory-like profile of the Virgin, which contrasts with the dark face of Christ - by throwing the latter into shadow, the artist has avoided any prominence of the disagreeable dead features. St. John supports the body of Christ, and the large Magdalene is put in at the right to balance the composition; except as bulk she is of little importance in the picture.

845

Bartolommeo, Fra (1472-1517)

Marriage of St. Catherine (1512)

Oil on Wood. H. 11 ft., 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Florence, Pitti

This large picture is a more typical example than the Pieta (no. 844) of Fra Bartolommeo's innovations in pictorial composition. One observes immediately that he got more than color from the Venetians. This form of composition, with the Madonna set back into the picture but raised on a high throne to give her prominence, with the musical putti at the foot of the throne and with saints gathered at either side, is just what the artist saw in many Venetian altarpieces (cf. nos. 912, 913, 919). Moreover, he noticed in the Venetian pictures a means which the Florentines had not yet hit upon for getting the effect of depth in their pictures: the Florentines had enclosed their pictures at the bottom, sides, and back; but they had not enclosed them at the top. Now Fra Bartolommeo, following the suggestion of the Venetians, enclosed his picture at the top; he hung a baldachin above the Madonna, and the effect of depth is greatly enhanced thereby, for space, to be effective as such, must be defined, must be enclosed. Unlike the Venetian paintings that Fra Bartolommeo saw is the hazy atmosphere of this picture, for to their rich colors he has added the soft sfumato of Leonardo.

If he borrowed freely from Leonardo and the Venetians, Fra Bartolommeo also passed on much to Raphael and Michelangelo. His means of suggesting space, his manner of accenting points of interest (the Madonna in the Marriage of St. Catherine is not only elevated, but strong light falls on her and on the Child and an architectural molding passes behind her head and the top of throne cuts behind the Child's head to accent those parts), and the general form of the composition exercised great influence upon Raphael. Michelangelo was charmed by the counterpoise of Fra Bartolommeo's figures (cf. the Christ Child here with that in Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna, no. 676) and by such large, monumental forms as St. Bartholomew, who stands at the right of the Madonna's throne, resting his book on his lap, a motive that we shall see many times in the works of succeeding artists (cf., e.g., no. 847). The date of Fra Bartolommeo's painting is given in the inscription, ORATE PRO PICTOR 1512.

846

Bartolommeo, Fra (1472-1517)

The Risen Christ in the Midst of the Evangelists (1516)

Oil on Canvas. H. 9 ft., 3½ in.

Florence, Pitti

Fra Bartolommeo attained his most perfect composition in the Risen Christ, a picture signed and dated, F. BARTOLOMEVS OP. MDXVI. The main figure is again raised on a pedestal. He is made more prominent by the bright light focused upon Him, by His gestures, and by the careful placing of the architecture so that its points of accent coincide with the points of accent in His figure - the moldings and the contour of the arch emphasize His hands and His head. The evangelists at the sides form a transition between the pedestal and the figure of Christ, they bind together the two incongruous forms. Though four heads, carefully studied to represent four distinct types, are visible in this group of attendants, the formal effect is of two large figures. Everything is kept simple and no unessential details are introduced. The motive of the book is given prominence in the figure of St. Mark at the right. The arrangement of the figures in counterpoise, with the bodies twisted so that the various parts are seen from different angles, passes into the art of the High Renaissance as one of its most distinguishing features. Counterpoise is as characteristic of the High Renaissance as the "swing" is of the Gothic.

847

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531)

Madonna of the Harpies (1517)

Oil on Wood. H. 6 ft., 10 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Just a year after Fra Bartolommeo had painted his masterpiece of the Risen Christ (no. 846), Andrea del Sarto, trained in the same studio with the frate, followed that successful composition in an altarpiece painted for S. Francesco in Florence. The Madonna, a portrait of Andrea's handsome but ill-tempered wife, Lucrezia del Fede, stands on a pedestal holding the lively Christ Child. Andrea has tried to give the parts of Fra Bartolommeo's composition a more obvious raison d'être. Thus the book which the Madonna rests against her thigh serves as a support for the Christ Child; the putti have risen from their rather meaningless position of shield bearers and grasp the Madonna's robes; one of them reaches up playfully to tease the Child, Who looks down laughing. All religious significance has disappeared; the artist is interested only in producing a beautiful, well-composed picture. The process of elimination characteristic of the High Renaissance has been carried even further than by Fra Bartolommeo; Andrea has substituted for the Venetian niche of the Risen Christ a more simplified architectural background. The coloring is rich and the forms are soft and luxuriant in the hazy atmosphere with which Andrea bathes them. These playful children remind one of the putti

(in the convent of S. Paolo, no. 959) that were soon to be painted by Correggio, the great master of chiaroscuro.

The picture gets its name from the harpies carved on the corners of the pedestal. The pedestal also bears the artist's signature and the date: AND. SAR. FLO. FAB. AD SVMMV. REGINA TRONV. DEFERTVR IN ALTVM MDXVII.

848

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531)

Birth of the Virgin (1514)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, Santissima Annunziata

The Madonna of the Harpies (no. 847) is probably Andrea del Sarto's masterpiece in composition. But his fame is based on his frescoes. In the technique of fresco painting he reached the highest mark ever attained in Florentine art. He was not a genius; his pictures are not great in the sense that Leonardo's or Michelangelo's are great. But he never painted a picture that was a failure; he maintained a uniformly high level so that his contemporaries said of him that he never made mistakes. He had no need to retouch his pictures; he painted straight ahead in an easy, suave manner. He avoided the thing on which the Italian High Renaissance finally dashed to pieces: he avoided deep shadows, colorless darkness. Though not so striking immediately, his luminous shadows, in which the atmosphere of Leonardo is united with the warm coloring of Fra Bartolommeo, have remained as he painted them, rich and beautiful.

At various times over a period of about twenty years Andrea executed commissions for the church of SS. Annunziata in Florence. Among them was a series of frescoes of the life of the Virgin, the finest of which is the birth scene. The intention of the picture is much the same as that of Ghirlandaio's representations of the same theme (no. 815), it is essentially a genre subject; its religious significance is not apparent. But Ghirlandaio's picture is of the fifteenth century, with the old interest in detail; Andrea's is of the sixteenth century, with the new interest in simplicity, breadth, spaciousness. Fra Bartolommeo's device of the canopy is used to close in the top of the picture and emphasize the depth of the room. The forms of actors are larger and fuller, and their draperies are broader and more voluminous. The composition appears casual and free. Yet it is carefully thought out; Joachim, sitting disconsolately at the back of the room, serves as a connecting link between the two principal groups, of which St. Ann and the infant Virgin form the two focuses. The figure of Joachim looks as if it might have been taken from some composition by Michelangelo.

849

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531)

Madonna of the Sack (1525)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, Santissima Annunziata

The best known of Andrea del Sarto's paintings, because the most widely reproduced, represents the Holy Family seated on a step, Joseph leaning against a sack, which gives the name to the picture. It is painted in fresco on a lunette of the cloister of SS. Annunziata and is dated by the inscription, QVE GENVIT ADORAVIT (She adored Whom she bore) ANN. DOM. MDXXV, more than ten years later than the series from the life of the Virgin. It is deservedly popular: the figures are strong and dignified; the composition is clear and simple; and the colors are rich and harmonious.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Dream of a Knight (1499?)

Tempera on Wood. H. 7 in.

London, National Gallery

The frankness and transparency of Raphael's art are nowhere better illustrated than in this little panel in the National Gallery. Beside it hangs the drawing which was followed in the painting. Rarely is the early stage in the development of an artist so adequately represented. The freshness, timidity, and simplicity of the work give one a peculiar sense of nearness to the happy young artist just starting on a career of serene success. The composition is extremely simple, and the subject is as old as man. In the middle of the picture, which is marked by a bay tree, an armored youth is sleeping with his shield as a pillow. At either side is a female figure, one almost duplicating the other in pose. In the background lies a North Italian landscape that now appears somewhat harsh and blackened. It bears no special reference to the figures, which, in the North Italian manner, are placed in front of, rather than within, the landscape. The myth of the crossways, man's choice between duty and pleasure, expressed by the Greeks in the Choice of Hercules, is treated here in a semi-pagan manner. The young woman at the left, dressed in somber blue, offers a sword and a book; the one at the right, gayer in her bright blue and carmine attire, holds out a sprig of myrtle. The painting may have been inspired by a woodcut from the Stultifera Navis, published in 1494, a copy of which was probably accessible to Raphael in the library of Duke Federigo at Urbino. At least the miniature-like execution of the painting suggests that the young artist was familiar with illuminated manuscripts.

The picture was probably painted before Raphael came into contact with Perugino; not only the landscape is suggestive of North Italy, the figures have a harshness characteristic of North Italian painters, in whose style Raphael received his earliest training.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Marriage of the Virgin (1504)

Oil on Wood. H. 6 ft., 6 in.

Milan, Brera

Raphael was so impressible, he borrowed so freely from others, that his originality is likely to be underestimated. His Dream of a Knight (no. 850) is painted in the style of North Italian artists. By the time he painted the Marriage of the Virgin, in the Brera, he was dominated by the Umbrian style of Perugino. He took more than the Peruginesque type of figure with its graceful S-shaped pose and its sweet, meditative expression. He patterned his composition very closely after Perugino's Delivery of the Keys in the Sistine Chapel (no. 839), painted about the time Raphael was born. As in that picture, the main action here takes place in the foreground of a deep piazza, with small figures in the middle distance and a Bramantesque temple at the back of the piazza. Only a master can indulge successfully in such obvious plagiarism. Raphael was able to see the finer characteristics in the works of a variety of artists and to reexpress those characteristics in his own language. There are in reality marked differences between the compositions of Perugino's Delivery of the Keys and Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin. Raphael's picture is much more compact; the sides of Perugino's picture, with the stupid repetition of the Arch of Constantine, have been omitted. The temple itself has been much improved; it has been given a more graceful, continuous portico, and the shape of the dome is echoed in the arching of the top of the picture frame. In the piazza the number of little figures has been diminished and they are arranged in quiet groups so that they do not distract attention from the main subject as do Perugino's agitated figures, that are

suggestive of a skating party.

The composition of the group in the foreground is simple. The Virgin, placed in front of the other figures and surrounded by plenty of space, is marked as the principal character. She is a beautiful Peruginesque type, as are also her female attendants. Assisted by the priest, she extends her hand to receive the betrothal ring from Joseph, who holds the blossoming rod in his left hand. The unsuccessful suitors are standing behind Joseph; one of them shows his irritation by breaking his unlucky rod across his knee.

On the front of the temple are Raphael's signature and the date:
RAPHAEL VRBINAS MDIIII.

To the period of the Brera Sposalizio belongs the prized Colonna altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum. The subject is the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints. It was begun in 1504 and finished in 1505.

852

Raphael (1483-1520)

Entombment (1507)

Oil on Canvas. Figures under Life-Size

Rome, Borghese

Raphael's finest pictures were painted in the quiet mood that he learned from Perugino. He is less satisfying in his attempts to emulate the strong, vigorous effects of such masters as Michelangelo. About a hundred drawings may be connected with his painting of the Entombment and, in general, the earliest of these are the best. The finished painting is a distinct failure in composition, though painted by a consummate master of composition. Raphael's original plan was to represent the lamentation over the body of Christ; he took a Pieta by Perugino for his model. Unfortunately, he was not required to deliver the picture promptly, and he went on playing with motives suggested by various contemporaries, especially Michelangelo and Mantegna. In its final form the composition is primarily based on Mantegna's engraving of the Entombment. As in that engraving, Raphael shows the bearers starting to mount the steps leading into the sepulcher. Certain details are taken from Michelangelo. The seated woman at the right, who reaches up to take the fainting Virgin, is an imitation of Michelangelo's Madonna of the Doni Family (no. 870). The figure of Christ is modeled after the Christ in Michelangelo's Pieta (no. 675). Details so much admired in the model, however, such as the limp muscles and the raised shoulder, lose their significance in Raphael's picture. No one can doubt the masterly drawing of some of the figures; they are splendid academic studies. But they are not well related to each other. The composition falls into two distinct groups, the group going toward the sepulcher with Christ and the group of women with the Virgin at the right. Within these groups, also, there are disturbing elements. The purely physical exertion of the bearers strikes a harsh discord with the tragic expressions of grief in the other figures. The pose and expression of Christ's head are so nearly duplicated in that of the bearer walking backward up the step as to produce an uncanny effect. But worst of all is the awkward, confused crossing of legs and arms. One can hardly decide to which bodies certain legs belong, and the arms of the seated woman at the right crossing the arms of another figure that are locked about the Virgin's waist form a singularly ugly motive.

The Entombment was commissioned by a lady of the ruling family of Perugia, Atalanta Baglioni, to decorate the altar of the chapel which she had caused to be erected in the church of S. Francesco at Perugia as a memorial to her son Grifone, who had been murdered in a family feud. It was a very popular picture. Vasari praised it as the "divinest of pictures, in which the highest diligence, love, art, and grace are combined, and which fills all who see it with wonder at its extraordinary perfection." The Perugians objected vehemently when the picture was taken from them to be given to Cardinal Borghese. Its predella, consisting of grisaille tondi of Faith, Charity, and Hope, is in the Vatican picture gallery; the lunette, with a half-length of God the Father surrounded by angels, was added by a later hand and is still in the church at Perugia.

The inscription on the step at the left reads: RAPHAEL VRBINAS MDVII.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Portrait of Julius II (1511)

Oil on Wood. H. 3 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Pitti

Vasari wrote of Raphael's portrait of Julius II that it represented the pope "looking so exactly like himself that one trembles before him as if he were still alive." This characterization applies equally well to the two versions of the portrait in the Pitti and the Uffizi, so that it is quite impossible to decide which one Raphael painted first; both must be by his hand, though good copies by others are extant. The pope is said to have given Raphael the original commission to paint his portrait for the church of S. Maria del Popolo, where the Pitti example hung in 1625.

Julius II, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV, was a member of the Rovere family. He was born in 1453, became a cardinal in 1471, and pope in 1503. It is said that his militant spirit led him to choose the name of Julius Caesar.

Raphael's early portraits, such as that of Maddalena Doni, do not lead one to expect the insight into human nature that is shown in the portrait of this pope. It represents him as an old man, just two years before his death; he is worn and stopped, but there is still fire in his eyes and an expression of determination in his contracted brows and firmly closed mouth. His sensitive fingers, that almost seem to be moving before our eyes, indicate that the energy of this man, who made Rome outshine the glory of Florence in art, is not yet spent. Some of Raphael's richest color went into the painting: the red-purple velvet cap and cape are beautifully done. Yet for representation of texture of robes Velasquez's portrait of a pope (no. 1081) far surpasses Raphael's, as Titian's portrait (no. 938) surpasses it in penetration of character. Raphael's supremacy lies in his presentation of the papal office and dignity, so that people have come to look upon this picture not merely as a portrait of Julius II, but as a personification of papacy - we accept it as showing how a pope ought to look.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (1515-1516)

Oil Transferred from Wood to Canvas. H. 2 ft., 2½ in.

Paris, Louvre

Though not so forceful as the portrait of Julius II, the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione is more representative of Raphael's style. He probably never painted a more congenial subject. Not only was Castiglione his close friend, but he was the author of Il Cortegiano and at the same time was himself a living example of the perfect courtier, whom he characterized in that book. Raphael, a no less excellent example of the perfect courtier, was equipped to give a sympathetic portrayal of his friend. Culture, refinement, suavity, gentleness, always Raphael's ideals, are here personified. The sure, easy drawing and the pearly gray tonalities of the picture make it a technical masterpiece that even Velasquez could not surpass. There are borrowings, of course, from other masters. Most obvious is the derivation of the pose from Leonardo's Mona Lisa (no. 811). Raphael had utterly failed with that composition in the portrait of Maddalena Doni; he has mastered it, and we are willing to accept it as his own, in the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Donna Velata (c. 1516)

Oil on Canvas. H. 2 ft., 8½ in.

Florence, Pitti

Leonardo's Mona Lisa seems to have haunted the vision of Raphael. He degraded the composition in his portrait of Maddalena Doni; he used it with success in his portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (no. 854); and he enhanced its daintiness and grace - though at the same time he lost some of its dignity - in the portrait of an unknown woman called La Donna Velata (the woman with a veil). La Donna Velata is usually said to be a representation of the woman loved by Raphael. At any rate, her regular features and large dark eyes appear in other pictures that he painted. The Magdalene in his altarpiece of St. Cecilia and the Madonna of S. Sisto (no. 860) bear some resemblance to her. In the portrait she wears a white, yellow, and gold costume; but the prevailing tones are of that pearly quality so much admired in the portrait of Castiglione.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Madonna del Granduca (c. 1505)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 9 in.

Florence, Pitti

The mild, gentle character of Raphael made him the most representative painter of the Madonna. His much reproduced pictures have always been so popular that it is almost impossible for anyone to think of the Madonna except in Raphaelesque form. By studying only his long series of paintings of this subject one can follow his artistic development, can see the varied influences that he felt, his attempts to work in the manner of other artists, and his occasional relapses into his own simple Umbrian manner.

The Madonna del Granduca is an example of one of these relapses, and as in all such cases, it is one of his finest creations. Raphael had visited Florence when he painted this picture; he had studied Donatello with profit, so that the Umbrian spirituality is adequately embodied: the Virgin and Child seem real flesh and blood. Mediaeval religious painting took its point of departure from the spirit, giving its representations as little physical quality as possible (cf. Duccio's Majestas, no. 705). Renaissance painting took its point of departure from the body; Raphael refines the physical, human woman and baby to the point where they become divine. Nothing could be simpler than the motive of this little picture. It is so harmonious in every respect, so perfectly unified that it gives the effect of having been painted very easily and quickly. As a matter of fact, there are many extant drawings that show it to have been the fruit of long, careful study.

The coloring has suffered some and the Child's feet have been retouched; but, on the whole, the panel is in very good condition. It gets its name from having belonged to Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany. One can easily believe the tradition that he was so attached to it that he even took it with him on his journeys.

Raphael (1483-1520)

La Belle Jardiniere (1507)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft.

Paris, Louvre

Leonardo's compositions of the Madonna of the Rocks and the Madonna with St. Anne (nos. 807, 812) had a strong influence upon Raphael, as they had upon nearly all artists working in Florence in the early years of the sixteenth century. The pyramidal design of those pictures is used by Raphael in one of his most beautiful versions of the Madonna, called La Belle Jardiniere. The lovely, blond Virgin is seated out-of-doors, with a view of a town in the distance and a river bordered by castle-topped hills that fade into the blue sky along the horizon. In the middle distance are two or three feathery trees of Peruginesque type and in the immediate foreground flowers and shrubs are drawn with an exactness that recalls again Leonardo's Madonna of the Rocks. In the figures Florentine precision of drawing and modeling is united with Umbrian sentiment. The Virgin has been interrupted in her reading by the Child, Who looks up at her with questioning gaze, while the little St. John, kneeling with the cross, adores the Child Christ. They do not seem to be talking to one another; they are in silent communion, and we can almost hear with them the chimes wafted across the quiet country from the distant campanile.

The composition of La Belle Jardiniere is only slightly more complicated than that of the Granduca Madonna. Its charm lies in its simplicity and the beautiful flow of one form into another.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Holy Family of the Canigiani (Finished in 1507)

Oil on Wood. H. 4 ft., 4 in.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

The out-of-doors, with a hilly landscape and a town of many towers, is again the setting for the Holy Family that Raphael painted for Domenico Canigiani in Florence. The general form is similar to that of La Belle Jardiniere, a compact, pyramidal composition based on those of Leonardo. It is enriched by the addition of two figures, Sts. Elizabeth and Joseph, and the strict form of the pyramid was originally mitigated by the introduction of groups of angels in the upper part of the picture, which were painted out after they had been badly damaged. For the effect of the composition as Raphael left it one must look at old copies, such as the wash drawing in the Oxford Gallery.

The motive of the picture is the little St. John's presentation of the Lamb of God banderole to the Christ Child. Christ is cheerfully taking the band, on which is inscribed Ecce Agnus Dei. Each mother seems trying to restrain her child, and Joseph looks down at the two children with a meditative air. On the hem of the Virgin's dress, at the neck, is the signature, RAPHAEL VRBINAS.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Madonna of the Chair (c. 1514)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 4 in.

Florence, Pitti

Equally as popular, perhaps, as the Granduca Madonna (no. 856) is the Madonna of the Chair (Madonna della Sedia); but the two pictures are very unlike in conception. They represent the two extremes of Raphael's art, the spiritual phase and the realistic phase. The Madonna del Granduca is Umbrian

enough to have been done by Perugino. The Madonna della Sedia retains only a trace of the Umbrian quality - in the sad expression of the Virgin. The characteristics that count most in this later picture are the realism that Raphael had acquired through contact with Florentine progressive artists, the chiaroscuro that he learned from Leonardo, and the rich coloring that he saw in the paintings of Sebastiano del Piombo in Rome. It is this evident relationship to Sebastiano that points to a dating of the work about 1514. For it shows the same application of Sebastiano's Venetian coloring that is apparent in the frescoes of the Stanza d'Eliodoro of the Vatican (cf. nos. 863, 864). The picture was probably a papal commission. As early as 1589 it was in the tribune of the Uffizi, from which it later passed to the Pitti.

The picture shows some modern repainting in spots; but in general it is well preserved. The tondo form was not new; we have noted it in Madonnas by earlier masters (cf. no. 822). Coupled with the realistic appearance of the figures it gave rise to the tradition that Raphael, struck by the charming group of a peasant woman and her children whom he saw one day in the market place, sketched them on the end of a barrel and from this painted the Madonna of the Chair. The Virgin, Child, and little St. John do give the impression of being real persons, whom Raphael might have seen. The Virgin wears the headdress and particolored shawl of the Roman contadina, and the affectionate relationship of mother and Child is wholly human. Yet there is not the least sacreligious suggestion in the picture: to artists of the High Renaissance "beauty" was almost synonymous with "divine."

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Raphael (1483-1520)

Sistine Madonna (c. 1515)

Oil on Canvas. H. 8 ft., 8½ in.

Dresden, Gallery

In his series of paintings of the Madonna Raphael's realistic tendencies reached their culmination in the Madonna of the Chair. In the most famous of the whole series, the Sistine Madonna, he went back to the more Umbrian, spiritual conception. Our Lady is conceived no longer as the earthly mother, more human than divine; she is the Queen of Heaven, coming down toward us for a moment out of a glory of cherubs to show us her Child, whom she carries before her as a precious jewel. Beside the curtains, that have been drawn back to display this heavenly vision, kneel two saints, and below are two adoring angels. It is generally believed that the same model that Raphael used for his Donna Velata (no. 855), painted about this time, served also for the Sistine Madonna. The resemblance is largely superficial, due to a similar arrangement of the veil.

Vasari says that the picture was painted for the black friars of S. Sisto in Piacenza, from whom it derived its popular designation. It remained in their church until the middle of the eighteenth century. But aside from the improbability of Raphael's having executed so large a commission for a comparatively obscure church at this high period in his career, there are things about the composition that point in the direction of another commission. One can interpret all the elements of the picture as indicating the proximity of a tomb. Sculptured tombs (e.g., Donatello's Tomb of Pope John XXIII, no. 647, and Rossellino's Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal, no. 658) had set the type: curtains drawn back at the sides, the vision of the Madonna in the upper zone, the sarcophagus and little putti below. The special function of St. Barbara, who appears on the right in our picture is that of intercessor for the dead: as interpreted by the Middle Ages and the Renaissance she is patroness of the dying hour. The serious, dignified, but sympathetic Madonna coming down out of Heaven, exhibiting her Child as a treasure that has been put in her keeping, corresponds to the description of her in the Salve Regina prayer for the dead: "Come, then, our intercessor, turn toward us thy compassionate eyes, and after this life on earth show us Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy body."

The ledge on which the two little angels are leaning has been interpreted as a sarcophagus, and the tiara placed on this at the left would distinguish the sarcophagus as that of a pope. Further, the termination of the tiara in the form of an acorn, and the decoration of the robe of the saint just above with acorns and oak leaves suggest that the pope belonged to the Rovere family.

The male saint, whose mantle is so decorated, is identified from Botticelli's painting in the Sistine Chapel as the canonized Pope Sixtus II (occupied see, 257-58), a saint specially honored by the Rovere family and therefore one who would be a particularly appropriate intercessor in their behalf. The natural conclusion is that the so-called Sistine Madonna might more reasonably be called the Madonna of Pope Julius II and that it was originally intended as a part of the decoration for his tomb. As a matter of fact, a sketch of a composition bearing some likeness to the picture appears as the central motive in one of Michelangelo's drawings for the sculptured tomb, a drawing dated 1513. Since we do not know the exact date of Raphael's painting, we can not be sure which of the two artists is to be credited with the invention of the general design. Can it be that there was some thought of Raphael's coöperating with Michelangelo in the decoration of the tomb? This seems very unlikely since neither literature nor tradition has preserved such a suggestion. More likely Raphael, seeing the failure of Michelangelo's extravagant plans for the tomb, believed that there was some chance of getting to furnish the decoration himself. When his painting failed of that destination, there was no place for it in Rome; there was no Roman church it could serve as a cult picture. But at Piacenza was the Benedictine cloister with Sixtus II as church patron; so Raphael may have seen here his chance of disposing of the large painting. It is easy to believe that the monks of S. Sisto could have been glad to get a fine painting by Raphael even if its subject matter were not entirely appropriate for them.

Whether or not this recently proposed interpretation is correct has very little to do with the intrinsic qualities of the painting. For generations people have accepted it as a revelation of the Madonna to themselves, and have drunk in its beauty without feeling the need of knowing precisely what was the artist's intention when he painted it.

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Raphael (1483-1520)

Disputa (1509-1511)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

Even more perhaps than as a painter of Madonnas, Raphael is famous as a decorator. Vast wall spaces gave full scope to his ability as a composer. His first great undertaking in this field was the decoration of the Stanza della Segnatura, one of four newly constructed rooms in the Vatican palace that he frescoed for Pope Julius II. This first stanza, called della Segnatura because it was the room used by the papal Court of Justice (Segnatura di Grazia), was painted largely by Raphael himself. It is as harmonious in the subject matter of the ceiling and walls as it is in color and design. Its theme is the glorification of the intellect. The four round medallions in the ceiling contain personifications of the four chief activities of the intellect: Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence. These are beautiful ideal figures which stand out clearly from the shining gold backgrounds that simulate mosaic. Corresponding to them on the four walls below are semi-historical scenes. Below the personification of religion is the picture known as the Disputa; below Philosophy is the School of Athens; below Poetry is Parnassus; below Justice is a group of personifications of prudence, force, and moderation.

The title of the large composition that gives an exposition of religion is misleading. The picture does not represent a dispute concerning the Holy Sacrament; it is a presentation of the dogma of the Sacrament. In the upper part of the picture, which is based on the decoration of the mediaeval church apse, Christ sits in an aureole of gold rays framed by a band of cherub heads and flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist as in representations of the Last Judgment. Above Him appears a dignified bust of God the Father against a background of dimly-seen angel hosts and radiating golden rays that recall the traditional conch-shell terminations of mediaeval apses. Three angels, very lovely in form and graceful in movement, float at either side of God the Father. Below Christ the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, is flanked by four little angels that, in the place of the usual, but less gracious, symbols of the four evangelists, carry the books of the Four Gospels.

This group is continued, at either side of Christ's cloud throne, by majestic figures of saints of the Old and New Testaments, seated on a semicircular cloud bank supported by innumerable angel heads.

Though actually very close to the lower zone of the picture, this heavenly vision is clearly separated from the scene below by a difference of viewpoint: we seem to be looking at it from below and at the scene on earth from above. Christ, Whom we see above in the body, displaying the wounds in His hands, is symbolized below in the Host exhibited in the monstrance on the altar. Gathered about the altar are popes, bishops, prominent theologians, and even laymen. They are not engaged in a dispute, but rather in a discussion concerning the Host, a discussion in which there seems to be no dissenting voice. Some of the figures can be identified: near the altar are seated the four Church Doctors, Ambrose and Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great; Dante and Savonarola are recognizable figures; Bramante is said to be the old man with a book, leaning on the balustrade at the left, while the graceful young duke of the Rovere family calls his attention to the Host, the beginning and the end of all true learning. The triumph of religion here displayed is echoed in the landscape background, where a church is in process of building on one side and the foundations of new St. Peter's appear on the other.

It is interesting to recall that just at this time Dürer was painting his version of the Holy Trinity (cf. no. 558). Raphael, with a vast space at his disposal, ranged his figures with ease and grace over the wall. Dürer, on his small panel, showed far more numerous hosts, we are impressed with the seriousness and the power of his subject rather than with its grace.

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Raphael (1483-1520)

School of Athens (1509-1511)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

On the wall opposite the Disputa is the School of Athens: the glorification of religion is paralleled by the glorification of human reason. Corresponding to the Church Doctors in the one fresco are the two preëminent representatives of philosophy in the other: Plato and Aristotle, engaged in earnest discussion, are bathed in a glory of light at the head of the stairs. Plato carries his Timaeus in one hand and points upward with the other to the source of the divine idea. He is an old man, with features traditionally associated with Leonardo, the painter-philosopher so much admired by Raphael. Aristotle, a younger man, with more vigorous physique, as befits a teacher of practical wisdom, carries his Ethics in one hand, and stretches out the other over the earth as if to indicate the value of tangible things in the discovery of fundamental truths. Crowding near the two leaders and arranged along the steps and below are other representative philosophers and scientists of all ages. Some, noted for their teaching, are the centers of groups of disciples and admirers; others, like the poorly clad Diogenes, who sprawls on the steps, are indicated by their isolation as solitary thinkers. The portraits of several contemporaries have been introduced: the handsome young man in the right foreground is said to be a likeness of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino; the geometrician, with compasses, at the right, bears the features of Bramante; and Raphael himself stands with Sodoma at the extreme right of the composition. By the inclusion of Sodoma's portrait beside his own, the amiable Raphael acknowledges the coöperation of Sodoma in the decoration of the room - Sodoma painted part of the ceiling.

Raphael was almost new at fresco painting when he undertook the Disputa. He had completely mastered the technique by the time he began on the School of Athens. Individual figures are beautifully drawn and all are woven together into a harmonious ensemble. The scheme of the composition is based on that developed by Fra Bartolommeo (cf. no. 846): the figures of focal interest are set back into the picture, and their consequent diminution in size is more than offset by their being elevated and surrounded by free space. The vast hall that serves as a setting for the mighty gathering shows a knowledge of Bramante's plans for the new St. Peter's, and is based even more on the Basilica

of Constantine, part of which (no. 39) still stands in the Roman forum. Tradition is probably right in attributing the design of this vaulted hall to Bramante. It is decorated with classical reliefs and statues, chief among which are representations of Apollo and Minerva. The whole picture is expressive of the Renaissance respect for the intellectual and cultural supremacy of Greece and Rome. At no other time has the Christian world felt this perfect tolerance expressed in Raphael's frescoes, this equality of respect paid to the Church Doctors and to the classical philosophers, this paralleling of the Trinity with pagan deities.

Most of Raphael's studies for this fresco have disappeared. The full-size cartoon is preserved in the Ambrosiana at Milan. It shows many details more clearly than they can now be seen in the damaged fresco. But it does not include the architecture in the background and a few of the figures. These must have been added to the composition by Raphael after he had begun painting on the wall.

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Raphael (1483-1520)

Heliodorus Driven from the Temple (1511-1514)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

The decorations in the Stanza della Segnatura were devoted to the glorification of the intellect; those in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, the second room in the Vatican decorated by Raphael, were designed to glorify the Church and, more specifically, the man who was then its head, Pope Julius II. Presumably the pope himself dictated the subjects to Raphael. The composition from which the room derives its name represents the expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem, a subject taken from the book of Maccabees. The Syrian captain had entered the temple to plunder the treasure reserved for widows and orphans when, as the high priest was praying at the altar for deliverance, a heavenly rider appeared, accompanied by two young men in dazzling raiment, and trampled the despoiler and his followers underfoot. Raphael has represented the moment when Heliodorus is struck to the ground and his accomplices flee in terror. The men, women, and children who witness the miracle form an excited group at the left side of the picture; but beyond them is a quiet group of contemporary witnesses, Pope Julius, borne on his chair of state, and several members of his court. The pope looks on calmly at the purging of the temple, an incident chosen to symbolize his own acts of deliverance of the Church: he had already recovered considerable territory from Venice and before the painting was finished he had accomplished his great desire to expel the French from Italy, thus delivering the faithful, as he himself expressed it, "from the yoke of the barbarians."

Raphael designed the picture, but most of the execution was apparently turned over to Giulio Romano, a facile but somewhat empty painter. The composition is based on the same principle as that of the School of Athens. In spite of the conspicuous size and movement of the heavenly horseman and the group about him, it is nevertheless that distant figure of the high priest at the altar, elevated, singled out by the architectural perspective, and surrounded by space and light, that forms the center of interest. Inevitably the eye is led to that holy spot in the temple, with the altar, the seven-branched candlestick, and, above all, the quiet, earnest supplicant as the source from which comes the miraculous power displayed in the foreground. That quiet altar scene and the calm papal party are effective foils to the groups in violent movement.

The figure at the extreme left of the fresco holds a paper on which is the name Giovan Pietro de' Folliati, and it has always been assumed that this was the name of the man who holds the paper, presumably some member of the papal court. Recently it has been observed that the inscription is painted in oil instead of fresco, the writing is not Raphael's, and the figure is in reality probably a portrait of the artist himself; it is very similar in its principal characteristics to undisputed portraits of Raphael. The bearded, chair-bearer who stands next to this figure may be intended to represent Dürer (cf. his portrait of himself, no. 560); Vasari tells us that Dürer sent Raphael a portrait of himself painted in tempera on canvas in token of his esteem.

Raphael (1483-1520)

Mass of Bolsena (1511-1514)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

In the fresco of the Expulsion of Heliodorus (no. 863) Pope Julius II witnessed the triumph of the Church over earthly enemies; in the following picture, entitled the Mass of Bolsena, he sees the triumph of dogma over doubt. The personal reference of the subject to the pope is as evident in this picture as in the Expulsion of Heliodorus. The allusion is to the reforms of the Church inaugurated under Julius II and to his suppression of a scism. The miracle depicted was wrought at Bolsena in 1263, when a Bohemian priest who doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation saw drops of blood issue from the wafer as he pronounced the words of consecration.

Raphael has represented the moment when the priest raises the wafer and sees the drops of blood. He does not start back in surprise, as one might expect from the more dramatic treatment of the Heliodorous fresco. He looks at the wafer calmly and intently as if thankful for this renewal of his faith. Pope Julius II, kneeling opposite him, looks on with perfect surety and confidence, seeing in the miracle only a proof of what he already knew to be true. Acolytes and clergymen evince varying degrees of surprise and interest. The only people who make any noticeable demonstration are the members of the congregation below at the left. The pope's Swiss guards, at the lower right, are very little interested in the miracle; one or two of them seem to realize that something unusual is transpiring; the others are looking about casually, bored with what they assume to be the usual monotonous ceremony.

But it is particularly in these papal guards that a new feature of Raphael's art is exhibited. Their picturesque liveries show a richness of color that he had never before attained. He probably acquired this richer color sense from his new friend, Sebastiano del Piombo, the Venetian who came to Rome in 1511. This part of the picture has quite the effect of a group of Venetian portraits. The whole picture is richer in color than the earlier frescoes by Raphael. And he has had much more to do with its execution than with that of the others in the room; it is equal to the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura. In composition, as well as in color, it is one of his masterpieces. The field to be decorated was of most awkward shape, a lunette cut into by a window. Raphael has very cleverly painted at the sides of the window steps that lead up to the altar, thus raising the important part of the picture and distributing the subordinate parts along the steps and at the bottom. As a result, the window detracts from the harmonious effect of the composition scarcely more than the entrance to the crypt, not uncommonly placed under the altar steps in mediaeval churches, detracts from the emphasis of the sanctuary.

Raphael (1483-1520)

The Fire in the Borgo (Executed by Giulio Romano) (1514-1517)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Stanza dell'Incendio

Pope Leo X, successor of Julius II, commissioned Raphael to decorate a third stanza in the Vatican. Consequently, it is this pope that is honored in all the frescoes of the Stanza dell'Incendio. Subjects are chosen from the lives of earlier popes who had taken the name of Leo and for their features those of Leo X are substituted in each case. Thus, in the Burning of the Borgo, the fresco from which the stanza takes its name, it is Leo X who poses as Leo IV and by the sign of blessing quenches the flames that are threatening the whole district around the Vatican and that sacred building itself.

The pope is a very small figure, on the balcony of the Vatican far in the

background. A wide piazza separates him from the foreground of the picture. But Raphael's usual method of elevating his important figures and surrounding them with plenty of empty space prevents the pope's being lost in the profusion of other details. He is emphasized, too, by the supplicants who turn toward him; one of the most prominent figures in the composition, a woman in the middle of the immediate foreground, has fallen on her knees and raises her arms in desperate entreaty toward the distant figure of the pope.

The composition is full of confusion, partly intentionally, for the subject is one of tumult. But the lack of unity is principally due to the concentration of interest on the individual figures. Raphael's usual concern for composition is here overshadowed by a preoccupation with figures. The explanation of the change of interest lies in the recent unveiling of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (no. 871). This gave the world a new aspect to every artist. Raphael now introduced nude figures for the sake of anatomical studies and there is as much variation as possible in the actions to give a wide range for the study of the play of muscles. Exaggeration of muscular forms is partly due, no doubt, to Giulio Romano's execution of the fresco; he always tended toward an extravagant use of Michelangelesque motives.

Since the artist's chief interest was in the individual figures, the spectator does well to study them in detail, to enjoy the brilliant play of line in the drapery of the water-carrier at the right, the fine swing of the body of the young man dropping down from the wall at the left, the tension of the muscular body that reaches up beside him, and the contrasted physiques of old age, middle age, and youth in the group in the left foreground. This group has always been connected with Virgil's description of Aeneas carrying his old father, Anchises, and leading his son, Ascanius, from Troy. But it also portrays an incident in the history of Raphael's own family: his grandfather Peruzzolo rescued his father, old Sante, and his son Giovanni from the ravaged town of Colbordolo.

The flames and smoke gave Raphael another opportunity to study the problem of artificial light, which he had so marvelously treated in the Stanza della Segnatura in his fresco of the Liberation of St. Peter from Prison.

866

Raphael (1483-1520) and Pupils

Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche (1518)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Rome, Farnesina

One of the most charming series of decorations carried out under Raphael's direction was that in the pavilion, or loggia, of Chigi's villa in Trastevere, Rome. The subject matter is taken from Apuleius' story of Cupid and Psyche. But Raphael makes the myth of Love and the Soul much more refined and beautiful than it appears in the late Roman narrative. Lunettes, pendentives, and the large fields of the ceiling are framed in garlands of flowers and fruit that, even without the figures, would give a festive air to the pavilion. Within the lunettes mischievous cupids fly about with the stolen arms and emblems of the gods. In the ten pendentives the story of Cupid and Psyche begins with Venus sending her son, Cupid, to earth to punish Psyche for her beauty, continues through the incidents relating to Cupid's infatuation with Psyche, Venus' attempts to thwart the match, and Cupid's eventual success in persuading Jupiter to countenance it. In one of the two large divisions of the ceiling Psyche is admitted into the presence of the gods and is given the draught of immortality. In the other the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche are celebrated at a banquet of the gods. The deities are gathered about a table, over which winged figures scatter flowers. Cupid and Psyche recline on their cloud couch next to Jupiter at the right end. A cupbearer offers wine to Jupiter, and the Graces anoint the head of Psyche.

Raphael had very little, if anything, to do with the execution of the Farnesina frescoes; most of the painting of the figure compositions was done by Giulio Romano, and Giovanni da Udine painted the garlands. Moreover, the work was coarsened in outline and dulled in color by restorations in the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the decorations are still charming for

their festive quality and their fecundity of invention. Some of Raphael's drawings for details of the work are among the finest examples of his art that have come down to us. There is a beautiful drawing at Windsor Castle, for example, of the Three Graces that appear at the extreme right of the nuptial scene. The one nearest the spectator, with her back turned, is still fine in the fresco; it is untouched by the restorer and is generally considered to have been painted by Raphael himself.

867

Raphael (1483-1520) and Pupils

Calling of the Apostles (Miraculous Draught of Fishes) (1515-1516)

Painted Cartoon. Figures above Life-Size

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

While Raphael was still busy with the decorations of the Vatican stanze, Pope Leo X called on him to furnish designs to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. The ceiling had been decorated by Michelangelo with the story of the Creation, Fall, and the promise of redemption (no. 871). On the walls various artists had painted portraits of the popes and the stories of Christ and Moses, the Old Testament parallel of Christ. About twenty years later some of these scenes were replaced by Michelangelo's Last Judgment (no. 876) on the altar wall. Now the pope's intention was to cover the lower part of the walls, below the scenes from the lives of Christ and Moses, with tapestries illustrating the acts of the apostles. With his usual expedition, Raphael had finished the ten cartoons and sent them to the weavers (the atelier of Pieter van Aelst) in Brussels in less than two years after he had received the commissions, and three years later, in 1519, the completed tapestries were hanging in the place for which they were designed. They remained there only a short time, however. During the sack of Rome in 1527 they were taken away, and were not returned to the Vatican until 1808 and then in a ruined state. They have not been rehung in the Sistine Chapel, but are exhibited in a gallery of the Vatican Museum.

We need be less concerned for the fate of the tapestries than for that of the original cartoons: the weavers naturally lost much of Raphael's spirit in their translation of the designs. The forgotten cartoons lay around in the weavers' shop, cut in strips, until they were discovered by Rubens in 1630. He acquired the seven that remained for Charles I, and since that time they have been in England, first at Hampton Court and now at South Kensington Museum. They are badly damaged. An indication of how radically the original coloring has changed may be seen in a detail of the Calling of the Apostles, where Christ's robe is white with brown shadows, though its reflection in the water is pink. Originally the robe must have been a reddish hue, as in the tapestry.

It seems unlikely that Raphael did any of the actual painting of the cartoons; Francesco Penni probably executed a large share, while Giovanni da Udine painted the birds, shrubbery, and decorative details. But Raphael was certainly responsible for the designs, which are among his best from the standpoint of composition. Their use as tapestry designs demanded simple, broad treatment, and the reduction of the number of figures to the few absolutely essential to the subject. One is constantly reminded of Giotto and Masaccio. For real use these little boats in the Miraculous Draft of Fishes are as impossible as are the buildings in Giotto's pictures (cf. nos. 744-753). All attention is drawn to the figures, which, in their dignity and expressiveness, are comparable to those of Masaccio. They show one striking contrast with Masaccio's figures: they are imitative of Michelangelo's muscularity. Raphael's perfect control of problems of composition is shown by the fact that he could move Christ, the principal figure, clear to one side, even allowing the frame to cut off part of His drapery, and yet there is not the least doubt as to the center of interest. The boatman at the extreme right is wholly unconscious of the miracle and the presence of Christ; the interest increases from figure to figure and carries the eye toward the left.

The clear, simple narrative character of these cartoons has made them very popular as Bible illustrations. Everyone is familiar with them from Sunday School cards and children's Bible stories. The mythological arabesques

of the surrounding borders give a good illustration of the influence of ancient art upon Raphael's late decorations. As director of the archaeological excavations in Rome he was fired with enthusiasm for classical designs. The most obvious results of this contact with the past are the arabesques of the Vatican Loggia that he was designing at this time.

868

Raphael (1483-1520)

Transfiguration (1517-1520)

Oil on Canvas. H. 19 ft., 1½ in.

Rome, Vatican, Picture Gallery

The last painting on which Raphael worked was one of two pictures ordered by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici for the city of Narbona, of which the cardinal was appointed bishop in 1517. They were to be painted by the two artists who were at that time most noted in Rome, Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo. Sebastiano's picture, now in the National Gallery, London, represents the Resurrection of Lazarus (no. 877). Raphael was to paint the Resurrection of Christ, but he finally determined upon the Transfiguration instead. He lived to complete only the upper half of the picture, but left drawings for the lower part so that only the execution of the latter remained for Giulio Romano. This unfinished work, beside which Raphael's body lay in state, made a great impression upon the people of the time, and even with the coarser figures of the part added by the pupil the picture retains its place among Raphael's masterpieces.

Raphael had passed under the influence of many artists and schools during his lifetime, and now in his last work, as in such a late picture as the Sistine Madonna (no. 860), we can still trace various influences, but they are not obvious. Raphael had thoroughly assimilated all the characteristics that were pleasing to him and had blended them into a style that can only be termed *Raphaelesque*. In accordance with the Umbrian tradition followed in the *Disputa*, the composition of the Transfiguration is divided into two parts, with the celestial vision above and the earthly scene below. Matthew's account is closely followed. On the top of a mountain Peter, James, and John have fallen to the ground, blinded by the aureole of light in which Christ floats in the company of Moses and Elias. While this miracle is enacted Christ's other disciples, at the foot of the mountain, are trying in vain to heal a demoniacal child brought to them by his family. It is this unity of time that binds together the two parts of the picture. It is a new kind of unity in Italian painting. The earlier custom in the case of a number of distinct scenes, generally successive, had been to unify the composition by making one of the scenes much more prominent than any of the others. Here the two scenes are of equal prominence, but they are enacted simultaneously. The two parts are united also by the two extremes of transport: Christ is in a beatific ecstasy; the demoniacal child is likewise in a trance, but cursed rather than blessed.

Fra Angelico would have treated this subject as a mystic vision. Raphael has treated it as an actual event, in a beautifully painted landscape, with all the characters taking part in the action - except the two spectators at the left, S. Giuliano and S. Lorenzo, who have no part in the gospel account. They were introduced because they were the patron saints of the donor's father and uncle, Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici. Such a painter as Ghirlandaio would have given them a prominent place in the picture; it is characteristic of the change in taste that Raphael relegates them to an inconspicuous place, half-hidden under the trees, as if resenting the compulsion to put them into a composition where they can only disturb the dramatic unity.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Bathing Soldiers Surprised (1504-1506)

Figures Life-Size in Original Cartoon

Florence, Hall of the Great Council (Designed for)

In 1503 Leonardo had been commissioned to decorate one of the walls of the Hall of the Great Council, where the Municipal Council of Florence held its meetings. The Battle of Anghiari (cf. no. 810), which he carried as far as the cartoon and began painting on the wall, was hailed by everyone as a masterpiece. It was a great honor to Michelangelo, therefore, to be called a year later to decorate the opposite wall of the room. He set to work immediately and had gone so far in a few months that with a month or two more in the summer of 1506, after a year spent in Rome, he was able to finish the cartoon. Then other duties intervened, and he never so much as started the transfer of the design to the wall. The cartoon remained for a while in the dyers' hall of S. Onofrio, where Michelangelo had prepared it; later it was removed to the Medici palace. In both places it was the favorite textbook for contemporary artists. Masaccio's monumental paintings in the Carmine were deserted for this cartoon, and the paintings that resulted from lesser artists' studies of it and other works by Michelangelo prove that this master was a more dangerous model than Masaccio: Masaccio inspired to simplicity; Michelangelo inspired to complication, with which only a great master can successfully cope. One regrets the contemporary popularity of the cartoon as a studio model still more because the students soon wore it out. In the course of a few years it had been cut up and scattered broadcast. A century later parts of it were still turning up in various collections. Now we have to content ourselves with drawings of a few details by Michelangelo, a copy in grisaille of part of the cartoon, and two or three engravings of details.

The subject of the cartoon was connected with the battle in which the Florentines, under Galeotto Malatesta, met the Pisans, under Sir John Hawkwood (the English condottiere who later came into the employ of the Florentine Signoria and whom Uccello portrayed in his famous fresco in S. Croce, no. 785). The battle took place July 28, 1364, at Cascina, near Pisa. The day was sunny and hot, and the Florentine soldiers were bathing in the Arno and resting when Hawkwood's approaching forces were spied. The enemy was so near that some of the soldiers rushed half dressed into the fray and Hawkwood was driven back. Though the battle itself was of decisive significance - in commemoration of the victory the Guelphs endowed a chapel to St. Victor in the cathedral and instituted a yearly festival - the scene to which Michelangelo gave prominence was only incidental. It is the moment when the call to arms has just been sounded and the soldiers are scrambling out of the river, dressing, and seizing their weapons. Our engraving, made from the grisaille drawing in Holkham Hall, shows only the foreground of the middle part of the composition, apparently. Vasari describes a larger composition, with the battle in progress in the background, and Michelangelo has left sketches for the distant fighting scene. But nothing could have pleased him more than the study of the life-size nude bodies in the foreground. It would seem as if he had represented every conceivable pose. Yet perfect unity is attained through the single purpose of the mass of figures: all are bent on preparation for battles; they strain every muscle in their efforts and excitement; much energy is wasted in climbing over one another, trying to pull clothing on over wet bodies, and dashing about wildly in search of clothes and arms, but one controlling thought runs like an electric shock through the whole group.

Muscular development is no doubt more strongly accented in the grisaille than it was in Michelangelo's cartoon - the tendency of the copyist is always to exaggerate striking details - and it is yet more emphasized in the engraving. But even in the engraving the anatomical development is moderate. In this work and in his early relief of the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs Michelangelo avoided the exaggeration that mars some of his later works and that blinded his followers to his true greatness.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Holy Family of the Doni (c. 1505)

Oil on Wood. Diameter, 3 ft., 11 in.

Florence, Uffizi

As early as 1505 Michelangelo had developed an independent style in sculpture, but as a painter he was still in the formative stage, very susceptible to the influence of other artists. When Leonardo's cartoon for the Madonna with St. Anne was exhibited in Florence, Michelangelo was as much impressed as anyone. It offered a new solution of the problem of compact grouping by placing one figure behind another; there was grouping around a central axis in the third dimension as well as in the plane of the picture. Michelangelo seems to have tried to outdo Leonardo in the Madonna that he painted for Agnolo Doni about 1505 or 1506. He conceived his picture field as a sphere in which the figures are freely but compactly grouped. The figures are so carefully modeled, so sculptural in appearance that it is often said that he was trying to do in painting what he might have done in sculpture. As a matter of fact, he has done much more than he could have done in sculpture. He could not have got an equal effect of depth in bas relief and such a composition in the round is unthinkable. For once, Michelangelo, who always expressed great prejudice for sculpture, must have had to admit, with Leonardo, that painting offered greater possibilities than sculpture. We may have to agree with those who criticize the picture for its lack of religious significance, but we must admire the beautiful drawing and modeling in light and shade and the ease with which the figures are foreshortened. Never, perhaps, has the left arm of the Madonna been equaled as a study in foreshortening. Michelangelo has deliberately chosen this motive of the Madonna reaching up to take the Child in order to show her body in a pose of complicated counterpoise. However small the picture may be reproduced, the figures give the impression of being of gigantic size. The mother answers better our conception of an amazon or of an ancient sibyl than of a Madonna. The Libyan Sibyl (no. 874) in the Sistine Ceiling almost repeats her pose. Joseph is not the mere accessory that he is usually made; he takes an important part in the action and has the dignity and power of a prophet. St. John, looking up over the balustrade, is like a little Bacchus. It is useless to try to find a relationship between the subject and the nude figures in the background. Michelangelo found himself in need of a background; he cared nothing for the conventional Florentine landscape with its winding rivers; he did care greatly for the classical beauty of nude bodies; so he filled his background with nude youths. Signorelli had set a precedent in a tondo of the Madonna, putting nude shepherds in the background. Michelangelo's figures are not characterized as shepherds; he was guided here by the same motives that led him to paint his famous ignudi on the Sistine Ceiling (cf. no. 871), to which these figures are closely similar in conception and, in one or two cases, in pose also.

871 a, b

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Old Testament Characters and Scenes, Sibyls and Decorative Figures: Ceiling

Decoration (1508-1512)

Fresco. Total L. of Ceiling, 132 ft.; W. 45 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

It is a trite observation that fate seems to smile upon the sweet disposition and to send misfortune upon the bitter and perverse. Raphael, though he lived but a few years, was all that the world terms successful; he received commissions that were congenial to him, he was able to delegate much to assistants and thus to complete vast quantities of work, and in general he seems to have lived up to Leonardo's description of the painter, who, dressed in beautiful velvet and listening to sweet music, sits comfortably painting in his studio. Michelangelo, on the other hand, is, even in his painting, the

sculptor who sweats in the midst of marble dust and discordant sounds. His great masterpiece, the decoration of the Sistine ceiling, is a protest against the necessity to work in painting instead of sculpture.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century Giovanni dei Dolci had built onto the Vatican palace a private chapel for Pope Sixtus IV, from whom it derives its designation as "Sistine Chapel." This pope had called some of the most prominent artists of his day to decorate the walls of the chapel with scenes from the lives of Moses and Christ (cf. nos. 814, 823, 836, 839). Now, in 1508, Pope Julius II decided to replace the conventional star-sprinkled blue decoration of the barrel vault with something that would supplement the scenes on the walls. His plans were modest enough. He wanted only the figures of the apostles on the vault, and with considerable difficulty he persuaded Michelangelo to undertake the work. Michelangelo soon found that twelve figures would seem lost on a ceiling much over a hundred feet long, even if he painted them on a colossal scale. So he persuaded the pope to let him work out a more elaborate scheme, which grew more and more complicated as he worked on it. The plain barrel vault became, under his powerful brush, an intricate architectural framework, with niches filled with figures, with openings through which appear celestial visions, and with all the divisions separated by elaborately ornamented pilasters and moldings.

In the seven hundred square yards of this vault we can read the whole history of the world as seen through the eyes of a Christian. The stories of the walls are not duplicated, but they are foretold, in the ceiling. The history begins at the altar end of the chapel and runs first through the nine middle compartments of the ceiling. In five scenes the story of the creation is told. God the Father, usually accompanied by a group of genii, separates darkness from light; He sets the sun and moon in the heavens and creates plant and animal life; He broods over the waters, imbuing the oceans with something of His mighty spirit and filling them with the myriad species of fish; He creates man in His own image; and, finally, He causes woman to spring from the man's side to be his helpmeet. In the sixth compartment is the scene of the Fall and the Expulsion from Paradise. God the Father has no sooner finished His highest forms of creation than they turn upon Him and sin against His one command. For the subject next in order Michelangelo needed a large field, so he skipped the seventh, which in the alternating scheme of large and small compartments had to be small, and painted the Deluge in the eighth. After He had failed in His effort to make man's life good by surrounding him with beautiful things, God tried to save man by giving him labor; but sin followed upon sin, the sons of man even committed murder. Finally, God almost despaired of making men virtuous; with a flood He wiped out all but the most promising family, that of Noah. The scene of the Deluge is not entirely successful as a composition; it falls into four distinct divisions, Noah's ark in the background, an over-crowded boat in the middle distance, a poor improvised shelter at the right that covers a crowd of people, and a jutting bit of land at the left on which other frightened refugees are gathering. The individual figures are splendid, but they are too small to be appreciated at their great height above the spectator. After their rescue from the flood Noah and his family gave thanks to God with sacrifice, another means by which God attempted to keep man in harmony with Himself. In a scene strikingly reminiscent of classical art, particularly because of the nude figures and the wearing of olive wreathes in the ceremony of sacrifice, Noah and his sons are preparing a burnt offering. But burnt offerings are not sufficient to save man from his own weakness. The last compartment in this series depicts the sin of Noah; Ham, one of his three sons, has come upon him lying, for all the world like an old Silenus, in a drunken stupor; Ham has gone and told his two brothers, who bring some drapery with which to hide their father's nakedness. The large wine vat, the pitcher, the cup, and, outside, Noah tilling his vineyard explain his present disgraceful condition. It is evident at last that the salvation of man will require the supreme sacrifice, and the remaining scenes in the ceiling look forward to that.

Seven Hebrew prophets and five pagan sibyls foretell the coming of Christ. That same tolerant spirit of the Renaissance that made it possible for Raphael to put the pagan philosophers of Greece on a par with the doctors of the Christian Church (nos. 861, 862) made it a matter of course for Michelangelo to represent the sibyls along with the prophets; even the wisdom of the ancients is conceived as having discerned the great truth. Twelve figures looking into the future! It would seem almost impossible to avoid monotony with such a theme, but Michelangelo has made each of his figures individual; they are so characterized that they could be identified even without the labels beneath, and each is occupied differently from all the rest. Jonah, a marvelously foreshortened figure above the altar, the impetuous young man

described in the Bible, who is so rebellious against God's plans for him that he even resents being disgorged by the whale, hurls out his prophecies in fury. The Libyan sibyl (no. 874) has found the truth through long study. Daniel, his beautiful young face bright with inspiration, is writing the prophecy that he is able to make from his studies. The Cumaean sibyl, an ugly old woman of incredible age, who because she had once been loved by Apollo was granted her wish for long life to which she had neglected to couple the wish for continual youth, is gleaning words of wisdom from one of the famed sibylene books with its great metal clasps that lock the secrets from all but the initiated. Isaiah, who more than any other foretold the coming of Christ, has closed his book and listens to the words of wisdom whispered into his ear by the little genius behind him. The Delphic sibyl, sibyl of Greece and therefore the most classic of all in form, the sibyl of Apollo and therefore always young and inspired, is the only one in the series in which Michelangelo has personified pure prophetic vision; she looks into the future, sees the coming of Christ and see also His death. Zacharias, like an old philosopher rich in wisdom, reads a book with understanding. Joel is inspired by the meaning that he divines in the words of an ancient scroll. The Erythraean sibyl, of a beauty and self-sufficiency comparable to the goddess Athena, is just making a final comparison of two passages before closing her book, while one of the accompanying genii is already blowing out the lamp and the other is rubbing his eyes. Ezekiel, the visionary prophet, has read the signs and spreads the tidings with fervent, almost violent, enthusiasm. The Persian sibyl, her face thrown into shadow by her Oriental headdress, holds her book close to her eyes, that have grown near-sighted through much use, and still searches for the truth. Jeremiah (no. 875), finally, is the personification of meditation.

A long period intervenes between the prophecies and their fulfilment. The generations of Christ's ancestry occupy the lunettes (not included in our photographs) and triangles that cut into the vault above the windows (with the exception of the two lunettes at the altar end, which originally contained the Passover Night and the Sacrifice of Isaac, and now complete the Last Judgment (no. 876) with angels carrying the instruments of the Passion). They are quiet groups, each in an attitude of patient waiting. The position of these fields renders them inconspicuous, and Michelangelo therefore treated the subjects in an unobtrusive manner and as of less significance than others, so that one can run through them with the need of as little comment as accompanies the Biblical record of the tree of Jesse.

The purpose of the coming of the prophesied Christ is symbolized in the four large corner triangles of the vault, in which are depicted incidents that saved Israel at various times. One scene shows the serpent raised up in the wilderness (symbol of the Cross on Calvary), to which the Israelites had only to look to be cured of the poisonous bites of the serpents that had fallen upon them. In another Judith, by her wit, is able to enter the camp of the enemy and come away with the head of the leader, Holofernes. In the third David slays the giant Goliath, who has kept all the armies of Israel in terror. In the fourth Esther saves her people by contriving to have Hamaan hung on the gallows which he had prepared for an innocent man.

Having sketched the story of the ceiling, there remains for discussion one of its most charming features, its host of decorative figures. The least significant of these are the putti that support the name plates beneath the prophets and sibyls; less important than the rest, they are less carefully done. In the small double triangles that are left above the scenes of Christ's ancestry and the saving of Israel are nude figures painted to simulate bronze. Their only purpose is to fill these spaces, which artists would normally fill with plant motives or conventional designs. They are arranged in pairs, of which one figure is the reverse of the other; thus the same cartoon could be used for two figures. They are unobtrusive, yet full of interest. Michelangelo must have delighted in devising the variety of poses that would fit into the small spaces. Some of these figures anticipate the allegorical figures of the Medici tombs (cf. no. 679). The duplication of poses is found again in the stone putti that decorate the thrones of the prophets and sibyls. Here a pair of figures on one side of the throne is repeated in reverse on the other side. The marks of an assistant are sometimes apparent in these duplications. One can easily imagine that such work, at least, Michelangelo would have been glad to delegate to assistants. These putti are purely ornamental. The general motive carried through the series is that of toying with drapery hung on the pilaster. Incidentally, the putti pull each other's hair and ears and perform various other childish pranks.

The principal ornamental figures are the famous "ignudi," or "athletes," that are placed on top the pilasters of the thrones of prophets and sibyls. In these more than in any other figures of the ceiling Michelangelo has felt free to create beautiful sculpturesque forms for their own sake. He must have felt very close kinship with the ancient Greeks as he painted these figures. They are motivated, to be sure, for they are occupied in attaching medallions by ribbons to the surrounding architecture or in suspending garlands from the pilasters. They have precedents in the garland-bearers of contemporary and earlier art (cf. nos. 648, 655). But their only real purpose is to exhibit the beauties of the human body in its ideal form. There is no deep spiritual meaning to be read in their expressions, nor yet any erotic significance; they are rather of the nature of fauns, that find sufficient reason for existence in physical exuberance. It is remarkable that Michelangelo was able to give such prominence to these decorative figures, as large and as carefully finished as the figures in the scenes of the Creation and Fall, without disturbing the interest in those subjects.

The whole ceiling is carried out in neutral colors. Not only would Michelangelo have known that bright contrasting hues would have confused the elaborate decoration, which has to be viewed from so great a distance, but neutral colors were more suited to his sculpturesque style; the beautiful silvery gray effect of the paint is enhanced by the plaster of lime and marble dust that shines through the paint. However much one may be impressed by the powerful sculpturesque quality of the figures of the prophets, God the Father, and others, one is impressed still more by their significance. No figure seems too large or too prominent for its importance. The great variety of sizes of figures is managed so perfectly that one feels no lack of harmony, unless we except three of the nine middle divisions: the three nearest the entrance end of the chapel, especially the one of the Deluge, are done on too small a scale, so that it is very difficult to see the figures from the floor of the chapel. It is usually assumed that Michelangelo had done part of the painting at this end when he discovered that he would have to change his scale.

872

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Creation of Adam: Detail of Ceiling Decoration (1508-1512)

Fresco. Length of Adam, 10 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

The most fascinating scene in the Sistine Ceiling is that of the Creation of Adam. Having seen this, one is never satisfied with any other representation of the Creation of Man. God has formed the body of man from the earth, and now He comes to endow the body with a soul, which means the transmission into the earth-formed body of a little of God's own divinity. Adam has not asked for life, and he accepts it reluctantly and pessimistically as if he already vaguely divines the troubles contingent upon it. His body is languid and relaxed, still closely akin to the earth, which seems to hold the body in its embrace - all except the outstretched arm. The arm and hand of God, almost aflame with energy, are like a powerful magnet, drawing the hand of Adam away from the earth, up where it is silhouetted against the sky. As the spark of life enters his body, he slowly raises himself from the earth, turning his sad, half-reproachful eyes toward his Creator. The face of God is full of sympathy and longing; this is His supreme act of creation and His anxiety for its success is without measure. The human form of His body is more clearly visible than in the other scenes of creation, for here we must see that God created man in His own image.

The figures that accompany the Creator are of unusual interest in this scene. The beautiful female figure whom His arm encircles must be Eve, whom God intends soon to give to Adam. She grasps God's arm as if half wishing to restrain Him, half seeking His protection as she watches with a mixture of fear and desire the act of creation, which is destined to be her function. There is a certain similarity between her face and that of the Delphic Sibyl, whose prophetic vision answers Eve's questioning gaze. Nearly a dozen tumultuous, clamoring child forms are visible under God's billowing mantle, and one always imagines that a clearer light would disclose many more. The

suggestion does not seem far-fetched that Michelangelo intended us to see in these the unborn generations with which Adam and Eve were to people the earth. Only one seems specially designated. The child more distinctly seen at the right suffers from the weight of God's hand. In His effort to give life to man God seems to need to brace Himself against some support. It is the Christ Child who furnishes this support. So we can read in this one picture not only the story of the creation of man, but also the story of his fall and of his redemption through the sacrifice of Christ. In such a work as this the greatness of Michelangelo's intellect seems superhuman.

But his intellect is matched by his technical ability. He has made the massive figure of God float as lightly as an eagle, and he has modeled the figure of Adam as beautifully as Phidias modeled his "Dionysus" on the Parthenon (no. 112). Adam's head was painted at one sitting, and the whole colossal figure occupied not more than four days. The painting is in true fresco and so was done on wet plaster, the junctures in which show the painter's speed.

873

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Temptation and Expulsion: Detail of Ceiling Decoration (1508-1512)

Fresco. H. of Figures, c. 10 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

The most decorative composition on the Sistine Ceiling depicts the Temptation and Expulsion. The Tree of Knowledge, about which the serpent is coiled, marks the dividing line between the two scenes, as it marked the turning point in the lives of Adam and Eve. From one side of it the tempter reaches out to give Eve the apple; from the other the avenging angel pursues the sinners with drawn sword. The composition is balanced and symmetrical, though no gesture or pose is precisely repeated. At the left we see Adam and Eve in the Garden of Paradise. What a contrast between this rocky place and the blossoming meadows of the paradise that such an artist as Fra Angelico painted! Yet for Michelangelo this is unusually naturalistic. It is the only work in which he ever represented a tree in full leaf. In the scenes of creation a small clump of ferns is all that indicates the newly created earth and plant life. His true medium of expression is the human body, and he admits no more of anything else into his work than is indispensable. The forms of Adam and Eve are splendid. Eve reminds one of the strong amazon who poses as the Madonna in the Doni tondo (no. 870).

Michelangelo's conception of the Temptation is original: Adam does not wait for Eve to offer him the forbidden fruit; he reaches up eagerly for it. Yet the fact that the upper part of the tempter's body takes the shape of a woman is justified, for it is Eve who sins consciously and willfully. Adam's curiosity outruns his reason. He is not thinking of consequences; he forgets all else in his anxiety to get a new experience. But Eve sits calmly; she understands the evil expression in the eyes of the tempter, yet she deliberately commits the sin and so encourages, instead of checking, the man's recklessness. The sequel is what one would expect: Adam is filled with remorse and despair; forgetful of the woman, he thinks only of his spoiled relationship to God. Eve cringes with shame and fear and seeks protection in Adam, trying to shelter herself with his body.

For his only significant prototype in this painting Michelangelo went back a century, to Masaccio, as in his sculpture he went back to Masaccio's contemporary, Jacopo della Quercia. Both these masters, with their majestic figures and with their scorn for accessories, are closer to Michelangelo than any intervening artists.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Libyan Sibyl: Detail of Ceiling Decoration (1508-1512)

Fresco. H. c. 12 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

One of the most beautiful of the twelve colossal figures that represent the age of prophecy on the Sistine Ceiling is the Libyan sibyl. She is aptly compared to the classical goddess Juno. The pose of her body in the most striking contrapposto (her feet and legs are seen in front and profile view, her shoulders and arms are seen from the rear, and her face, in profile) shows the culmination of that ideal of the High Renaissance of which Fra Bartolommeo was one of the initiators (cf. no. 846). The ease and elasticity of the pose have been the marvel of generations of artists; some drawings for the figure in the Metropolitan Museum show the design already determined and beautifully expressed. The motive seems clear, though it is frequently misinterpreted. The sibyl is not taking down the book from the shelf to put it on her lap. It is too large and heavy for her to lift down without taking hold of it differently. She is just closing the book, her studies are completed; her face is composed and meditative. One of the little genii, with a closed scroll under his arm, seems to answer the other's question with the words, "It is finished." The sibyl will now put on her cloak that she has laid aside during her reading and will descend from her throne to make known her prophecy. The nature of that prophecy is indicated by the direction of her gaze: she is at the altar end of the chapel and she looks down at the altar, symbol of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Jeremiah: Detail of Ceiling Decoration (1508-1512)

Fresco. H. 12 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

The most impressive figure in the cycle of prophets and sibyls on the Sistine Ceiling is Jeremiah. He seems to bring us close to Michelangelo's own personality. Giving up luxuries and comforts throughout his life for the sake of relatives who only grieved him by their indolence and lack of appreciation, continually forced to forgo his dearest desires in art and to do work in which he was not interested, Michelangelo must have felt that he could sympathize with the author of Lamentations. He has represented Jeremiah as a man with tremendous physical power, who finds that power inadequate to cope with the wickedness of the people for whom he gives his life's work. The prophet sits bowed in despondency and grief. Once he could cry, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" (Jeremiah ix, 1) But now he can find no utterance; every muscle is relaxed; his feet are drawn back under his seat, his head drops forward onto his right hand, and his left hand falls helplessly into his lap. No line of his body leads away from him; all lines lead within and help express the solitary grief that makes him for the moment oblivious to everything outside himself. He is dressed as a pilgrim; his cloak lying idly across his lap is expressive of his feeling that it is useless to try to "carry on." His grief is too deep to be shared by children; so instead of the usual genii two women stand behind him and give expression to his sorrow. The one seated at the right may be interpreted as Jerusalem, the widow of Zion. In the first verse of Lamentations we read: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations. . . ." And in the second chapter of Lamentations we read a description that can apply to the younger woman at the left: "The virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground." The mood of both the women, and of Jeremiah himself, might be expressed by Jerusalem's complaint in the first chapter of the same book: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow. . . ." The word "Alef," with which the verses of Lamentations begin in the Hebrew, is discernable on the scroll that lies beside the throne near the feet of the younger woman.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Last Judgment (1534-1541)

Fresco. W. 45 ft.

Rome, Sistine Chapel

In 1534 Michelangelo received a commission from Pope Clement VII to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel with a representation of the Last Judgment. This subject was essential to the rounding out of the story of mankind from the beginning of the world to the end. To make room for it three paintings by Perugino on the altar wall had to be given up, two windows sealed, and the lunettes above them, in which Michelangelo had earlier painted the Passover Night and the Sacrifice of Isaac, repainted. Before Michelangelo had actually begun painting on the wall Paul III had succeeded to the papacy and Sebastiano del Piombo had persuaded the new pope that the work should be done in oil. The only picture Michelangelo had ever painted in oil was the Doni Madonna (no. 870) and he insisted now upon working in fresco, refusing to have anything to do with oil, which he scorned as a medium fit only for women and lazy people. The masculine character of fresco speaks more loudly than ever from the scene of the Last Judgment that Michelangelo painted here.

In his decoration of the ceiling of the chapel (no. 871) he had carried his emphasis on the nude human form as far as was artistically reasonable. His respect for classical art had been a restraining force. Now in his old age he let loose his pent-up feelings, his spite against mankind, and in the exaggerated contortions of his nude figures he became what we term his followers, Michelangelesque. It is difficult to justly appraise the picture now, for it is not as Michelangelo left it. Not only has it been blackened by candle smoke, but it has been several times repainted and changed. Michelangelo was not yet dead when Paul IV, offended by the nudity of the figures, had drapery added to some by Daniele da Volterra, who thus earned the appellation of the "breeches maker." Still more draperies were added in the eighteenth century under the wave of false morals that was responsible also for the tin drapery that shackles the Vatican copy of the Cnidian Venus (no. 130).

In the middle of the upper part of the composition Christ appears in a burst of light. He is not calmly enthroned in the traditional manner; He strides forward with an expression of hard determination and with His hands raised in a gesture of disgust and disdain, as if He had exclaimed, "Away with them, there is no more mercy!" At the same time He exhibits the wounds in His hands, feet, and side as proving the justice of His judgment. Beside Him is the Virgin, but she seems terrified by this new aspect which her Son manifests on the day of doom and she shrinks back, hesitating to assume her function as intercessor for mankind. Above, in the arches at right and left, masses of wingless angels plunge toward the judgment scene bearing the instruments of the Passion as witnesses against mankind: the cross on which Christ was hung, the nails by which He was fastened, the spear that pierced His side, the column to which He was bound, the crown of thorns, the scourge, the sponge. Patriarchs, prophets, sibyls, apostles, martyrs press round the Judge with fear and trembling, displaying the emblems of their claims to clemency, which at the same time serve to convict those who have denied the Saviour and persecuted the faithful. Conspicuous in the foreground are St. Peter with his keys, St. Bartholomew with his skin and the knife that flayed him, St. Lawrence with his gridiron, St. Catherine with her wheel, and St. Sebastian with his arrows. Further down, trumpeting angels waken the dead, and others carry the books in which the record of the deeds of all people has been kept by the recording angel. At the left the dead are rising from the ground and ascending to the judgment seat. At the right the damned are being hurled and carried to the lower regions, where Charon acts as ferryman across the River Stix and, beating the hideous, howling mob with his oar, drives them into the presence of Minos, the horned, tusked, snake-encircled king of hell. It is doubtful whether Michelangelo really gave this horrible creature the features of the pope's chamberlain as he is fabled to have done because of the chamberlain's shallow criticism of the picture while it was in the process of painting. But his disgust with mankind in general is clearly evident in the obvious delight he has taken in representing the vehemence with which torments are wreaked upon the damned; devils seem to vie with each other in devising cruel means of dragging them down to hell.

Less of the inspiration for this version of the Last Judgment came from Dante than one would expect. Dante pictured a paradise as well as a hell. Here there is no paradise, there is no joyous gathering of the blessed; Michelangelo depicts only the fearful convulsion that runs through all humanity at the sound of the pronouncement of doom, and the terror of the damned, which differs only in degree from the fear of the saved. The Bible, more than Dante, was the source of inspiration. All through the Old and New Testaments are passages that must have served as fuel to the flame of Michelangelo's hatred. Isaiah (xiii, 6-9) expresses the spirit that seems echoed by the fresco: "Howl ye; for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty. Therefore shall all hands be faint, and every man's heart shall melt: And they shall be afraid: pangs and sorrow shall take hold of them; they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth: they shall be amazed one at another; their faces shall be as flames. Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it."

Details of the work show the influence of earlier paintings, especially of the Lorenzettian Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo at Pisa (no. 725) and Signorelli's frescoes at Orvieto (no. 838). Though we now find the Last Judgment the least satisfactory of Michelangelo's works in the Sistine Chapel, it was extravagantly praised in his day and has furnished motives for artists ever since. A conspicuous example of its influence is seen in Rodin's use of the striking figure of one of the damned who buries his face in his hand as he is being pulled down to hell. The colossal figure of the Thinker (no. 1041), originally designed for the summit of the "Gate of Hell," was inspired by this fearful creature of Michelangelo's imagination.

877

Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547)

Raising of Lazarus (1517-1519)

Oil Transferred from Wood to Canvas. H. 12 ft., 6 in.

London, National Gallery

The career of Sebastiano del Piombo furnishes a striking example of the complete transformation that can take place in an artist's style through subjection to a change of influences. Sebastiano was probably born in Venice; at any rate, he spent his early years there and learned his art under Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione. His early pictures give promise of a lyric art comparable to Giorgione's. But when he was about twenty-five years old he went to Rome and fell under the influence of Michelangelo. By the time he painted the Resurrection of Lazarus one would never have guessed that he was of Venetian origin had he not continued to indicate it in his signature. Michelangelo is said to have furnished the designs for much of Sebastiano's work and to have hoped that his protege would help put Raphael's "nose out of joint" with the papacy, whence came the most important Roman commissions. Sebastiano's chance came when Cardinal Giulio de' Medici set him in competition with Raphael by ordering a large canvas from each of the two masters. Even a similarity of subject matter was apparently originally intended, for Raphael started with the Resurrection of Christ and only later changed to the Transfiguration (no. 868). When the two pictures were exhibited side by side there were those who preferred Sebastiano's to Raphael's, and when the cardinal who had commissioned them was elevated to the papacy some years later he showed his approval of the Romanized Venetian by making him keeper of the leaden seal, from which office he acquired the suffix del Piombo.

It is not true, as some have thought, that Michelangelo supervised Sebastiano's work on the Raising of Lazarus. Michelangelo was not in Rome at the time it was being painted. He may have furnished the designs for part of it at least; there are drawings of the figure of Lazarus ascribed to Michelangelo in the British Museum. Only in the distant background is there any suggestion of the Venetian training under Bellini and Giorgione. The masculine muscularity of the figures, the sculptural treatment of draperies, the emphasis upon modeling and upon contrasts of light and shade rather than upon color richness and harmony are all characteristic of Michelangelo. But Michelangelo was not the only source of inspiration for the picture. To be sure, the figure of Lazarus is reminiscent of some of the figures in the

Sistine ceiling (no. 871), of certain of the ignudi and of the Cumaean Sibyl, for example. But it also recalls the nude figure of a youth in Signorelli's painting of the Last Days of Moses (no. 836) on the wall of the Sistine Chapel. And there are suggestions of the influence of Leonardo's unfinished Adoration of the Magi (no. 806) in the arrangement of the figures, in some of the postures and gestures of those who witness the miracle, and in the architectural ruins in the background.

The moment represented is that in which Christ with a word and gesture infuses life into the body of Lazarus, who struggles out of his winding sheet, while the assembled witnesses recoil from the offensive stench of the tomb or turn in marvel and adoration toward the Wonder Worker. The practical sister Martha recoils; Mary falls on her knees in grateful worship.

The picture is signed: SEBASTIANVS VENETVS FACIEBAT. It is considerably darkened by dirt, some repainting, and much varnishing, especially in the figure of Lazarus, but it still remains a powerful picture, however little sympathy we may have for the artist's lack of originality.

878

Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547)

Portrait of Columbus (1519)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6½ in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sebastiano's power and dignity made him a particularly good portraitist of men, and some of his portraits of women are very fine. Most of his paintings in this field bear closer similarity to the work of his rival, Raphael, than to that of his usual model, Michelangelo. Some of them long passed as Raphael's. The portrait of Columbus, painted some thirteen years after the explorer's death, gives a good idea of the suggestion of character and life that our artist could achieve. The picture is signed: SEBASTIANVS VENETVS FACIT, and bears the additional inscription: HAEC EST EFFIGIES LIGVRIS MIRANDA COLVMBI ANTIPODVN PRIMVS RATE QVI PENETRAVIT IN ORBEM 1519 (This is the admirable effigy of the Genoese Columbus, the first who entered in a ship into the world of the Antipodes).

879

Pontormo, Jacopo (1494-1556)

The Halberdier (c. 1530)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 1½ in.

Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum

The logical result of the growing interest in psychological studies that we have noted in an artist like Botticelli was the development of portraiture as an independent field of painting. Men like Pontormo, Bronzino, and Vasari painted other subjects, too, but they were successful only as portraitists. We have to go to the Venetian school to find parallels for Pontormo. His portraits have the sensitive, lyric quality of such a painter as Giorgione (cf. nos. 920-926) or Lotto (cf. no. 941). It seems fitting that we are unable to identify the man represented in the striking portrait now generally known as the Halberdier. This young man, grasping a halberd in his right hand and resting his other hand on his hip, where the touch of his fingers on his sword guard transmits a thrill of self-assurance through his lithe, vigorous body, enlists our sympathy not as a particular man but as a representative of soldiery. What holds us is the contrast between the vigorous, self-confident pose of his body and the puzzled, questioning expression of his eyes. That questioning gaze of the soldier who goes to lay down his life is the tragedy of war. Strong, brave, ready to dare anything, he yet wonders what it is all about and why the sacrifice should be made.

Bronzino, Angelo (1502?-1572)

Portrait of Bartolommeo Panciatichi (c. 1540)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 3 3/8 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Bronzino, Pontormo's pupil, inherited his master's aptitude for portraiture, and - we are forced to add - his inaptitude for other subjects. Outside the field of portraiture both Bronzino and Pontormo were unsuccessful imitators of Michelangelo. As a portraitist Bronzino's parallels are not to be found among the Venetian lyricists; Velasquez and the classical Greek sculptors are his closest kin. His portraits are cold, reserved, impersonal in expression. Strictly in harmony with their expression is his hard, enamel-like manner of painting; for this reason, some of Bronzino's most successful portraits are of men in armor. The relationship of Greek art goes further than the matter of impersonal expression; the sculptural quality of Bronzino's figures and the occasional borrowing of a pose show the influence of classical marbles. Yet Bronzino was also a great colorist; he did not use the rich colors of the Venetians; but he made an unusually decorative combination of the harder colors of the Florentines.

The portrait of Panciatichi has a companion piece in the portrait of the man's wife. It is one of Bronzino's most forceful character studies. The aristocratic bearing of the sitter is explained by the introduction of his family arms in the background.

Vasari, Giorgio (1511-1574)

Lorenzo the Magnificent

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 10 1/4 in.

Florence, Uffizi

Vasari's importance as an art historian so much overshadows his importance as an artist that his paintings are seldom mentioned in the studies of Italian art. Everyone is familiar with his name, chiefly through citations of mistakes in his Lives of the Painters. It has become quite the fashion with art critics to call attention to false statements made by Vasari. Yet his writings are fundamental for our knowledge of Italian painting, sculpture, and architecture. In such a comprehensive work there were bound to be many mistakes, and it must be admitted that Vasari was not so painstaking as he might have been in his reports.

In his painting Vasari was an eclectic, following especially Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto, and Raphael. It was not wholly his fault that he was only a mediocre artist. He came at a time when Florentine Renaissance art had run its course. Michelangelo, Raphael, and others had carried to their logical conclusion the problems that had long interested Florentine painters; and now Florence lacked the wealthy patrons and the political prominence needed to stimulate investigation in new directions. Venice and Rome had become the leaders in the practice of the arts; the part of Florence now lay in looking at the past; she now produced art critics and historians.

Yet Vasari's paintings have some saving qualities. His best work, as is usual with the artists of the time, is in portraiture. The portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent is somewhat affected, to be sure; the placing of the great connoisseur's head against a sculptured mask seems a little oversophisticated. Trying to show Lorenzo's interest in the arts and his fondness for collecting, Vasari has overdone the massing of vases, inscription tablets, masks, and similar antiquarian details in the background. The effect is somewhat distracting. Yet one must admire the eager, thoughtful face of the prince, his long, sensitive hands and fingers, and the well-rendered textures of his costume and the surrounding sculptures. Vasari has taken special pleasure in contrasting the flesh of Lorenzo's face with the metallic mask beside it.

THE VENETIAN AND RELATED SCHOOLS

(Nos. 882-971)

Veneziano, Lorenzo (Active 1357-1372)

Altarpiece with Annunciation, God the Father, and Saints (1357)

Tempera on Wood. Figures c. Half Life-Size

Venice, Academy

At the beginning of the fourteenth century when Giotto, in Florence, was painting masterpieces of such originality that he came to be called the father of Italian painting, and Duccio, in Siena, was creating the type that was to be influential through the whole course of the Sienese school, Venice was content with the Byzantine creations from Constantinople and other foreign sources, and, a little later, with the more advanced work produced by artists from the more progressive centers, such as Gentile da Fabriano, from Umbria. The Venetians wanted grandeur and beauty; they were not intellectually curious and ambitious as were the Florentines. So they never went through that course of scientific investigation in art, and their painters, architects, and sculptors were satisfied to stick to their own lasts. Venice had no Leonardo da Vinci, no man who was at once painter, sculptor, architect, scientist, philosopher. When, about the middle of the fifteenth century, she did become interested in producing her own art, her painters concentrated on their particular art and brought it to its full development within a single century.

There were a few Venetian painters at work in the middle of the fourteenth century who were able partially to free themselves from the stiff forms of Byzantine art. One of the most important of these was Lorenzo Veneziano, whose earliest dated work, the polyptych of 1357, which came originally from the church of S. Antonio al Castello, is a good example of the elaborate Gothic altarpieces of the period. The richly carved and gilded frame with thirty-six saints painted on the pilasters, busts of an anchorite saint and the four evangelists in the basement, and with a termination of ungraceful pinnacles, is almost as important as the panels which it encloses. The upper middle panel, representing God the Father, does not belong to the original altarpiece, it was painted by Benedetto Diana in 1525. The rest of the painting is Lorenzo's. Full-length and half-length figures of saints fill the side panels; the Annunciation occupies the main panel in the middle. The Virgin is stiffer, more Byzantine in character than most of the figures; the angel approaches her with a good deal of animation. Above, an amusing figure of God the Father sends down the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; and below, a very tiny portrait of the kneeling donor, Domenico Leo, is placed at the foot of the throne. The flesh parts have the old Byzantine olive tinge, and the figures are much elongated. The sweetness of expression is suggestive of the Sienese, as are also the decorative character of the drapery edges and the elaborate gold tooling on draperies, halos, and backgrounds.

Guariento (Active 1338-c. 1370)

Coronation: Detail of Paradise (1365-1367)

Fresco. H. of this Detail c. 8 ft.

Venice, Ducal Palace

Under the vast canvas of Tintoretto's Paradise (no. 952) in the Hall of the Great Council of the Ducal Palace is hidden the much earlier fresco of the same subject by Guariento. It is not surprising that the sixteenth century should have preferred the free, animated work of Tintoretto to the stiff, hieratic painting of Guariento. Yet there is an imposing dignity in the early fresco that appealed to all who saw it when it was temporarily uncovered in 1903. The restoration of the picture in 1541 had done little harm; the fire a few years later and the general lack of care had been responsible for the ruined condition of the fresco.

Guariento was a Paduan who clung to the traditional style of painting; his spirit was still essentially Gothic, though Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, painted some thirty years before Guariento's birth, had no slight part in the formation of his style. The rich, abundant Cosmati ornament of the

throne on which Christ and the Virgin are seated suggests that he had studied in Rome. The figures themselves are reminiscent of some of the frescoes in the old church of S. Maria Antiqua in the Roman forum.

Our photograph shows only a small detail in the center of the large composition. About the great Gothic throne, of a type suggestive of the sculptured tabernacles of this period such as Orcagna's tabernacle in Or San Michele (no. 639), are gathered hosts of angels of the different hierarchies, the evangelists, prophets, and patriarchs. In niches in the steps of the throne are musical angels that are the precursors of those charming musical angels that sit at the foot of the Madonna's throne in paintings by Bellini and other Venetians (cf. nos. 912, 913, 919).

The fresco is carried out partly in terra verde, a green monochrome such as Uccello used later in the "Green Cloisters" and elsewhere (see no. 786). The touches of other colors and the large quantities of gold and silver with which Guariento enlivened the work have almost entirely disappeared, and even the monochrome has taken on a disagreeable yellowish hue.

The name of the doge who commissioned the work is given in an inscription on the wall: MARCVS CORNARIVS DVX ET MILES FECIT FIERI HOC OPVS. Since Doge Mario Cornaro was in office from 1365 to 1367 the date of the work is quite definitely determined.

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Avanzi, Jacopo (Active Second Half of Fourteenth Century)

Miracle of St. Lucy (c. 1384)

Fresco

Padua, Chapel of S. Giorgio

Verona was one of the earliest of the North Italian towns to show some local development of painting. A certain Altichiero ranks with the best Florentine and Sienese fresco painters of his time. With him worked an alter ego who was only slightly inferior to himself. This coworker painted the four scenes from the life of St. Lucy in the chapel of S. Giorgio at Padua, one of which is signed Avantus Ve . . .; presumably he is Avanzo, a Veronese. The chapel of St. George was erected in 1377 by Raimundino Soragna, after whose death the decorations were finished, about 1384, by his brother. Scenes from the lives of the Virgin, and Sts. George, Catherine, and Lucy make up the principal part of the decoration.

According to the legend of St. Lucy, this beautiful young woman, of a wealthy Syracusan family, was forced against her will to marry a heathen youth of her town. When she persisted in giving all her goods to the poor her husband brought her before the town magistrate to be judged. This heathen magistrate was captivated by her beauty and decreed that for her disobedience she should be consigned to a house of shame. But neither a thousand men nor teams of oxen could move her; fire and boiling oil did not harm her; and she was killed at last by being stabbed with daggers.

The scene in our reproduction shows the vain attempts to lead the saint to the house of shame. In an open courtyard crowds of men are pushing and pulling at her body or urging forward the oxen hitched to a rope passed round her waist. The oxen pull with all their might, some of them falling in their efforts, while the saint stands firm. Some of the onlookers realize the miraculous nature of the episode, and one of them looks up at the magistrate and the husband on the balcony above, trying to make them see that there is no use defying the miracle; but they are busy thinking of new methods of torture. There is much life and movement in the scene, represented with a surprising understanding of reality. But most remarkable is the elaborate background of contemporary architecture. It has a festive character that we shall see inherited by a more important later Veronese, Pisanello, and carried by him into Venetian painting.

Pisanello (c. 1397-1455)

St. George and the Princess (c. 1438)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Verona, S. Anastasia

Among the outside artists whom Venice employed before she had developed an adequate native talent were Gentile da Fabriano (see nos. 762, 763) and Antonio Pisanello. About 1418 these two collaborated in the decoration of the Council Hall in the Palace of the Doges. Pisanello, the son of a Pisan, lived in Verona; but he worked so early in Venice with Gentile da Fabriano that his style was quite as much influenced by that Umbrian master as by the Veronese. Very few paintings by his hand have come down to us; but he left many drawings and a number of medals, which alone are sufficient to establish his position as one of the greatest Italian artists of the first half of the fifteenth century. In his own day he enjoyed widespread celebrity; he was sought by princes and sung by poets. He was employed by the Este family at Ferrara, by the Gonzagas at Mantua, by the Visconti at Milan, and probably also by the Malatestas at Rimini. Everywhere he was treated with the deference shown to noble blood. He was a true court painter, interested in the rich display that had become characteristic of the court life of North Italy chiefly through the example of France. He furnished designs for costumes and all kinds of trappings, taking great delight in the precise rendition of details, as would be expected from a medalist. Drawing seems to have been his most congenial form of expression. Like other artists of his time - Jacopo Bellini, for example - he recorded in his sketch book the fancies and the nature studies that interested him and afterwards used them where possible in his paintings. Studies of animals are even more numerous among his sketches than studies of costumes. The animals are drawn with a remarkable understanding of nature. His early painting of the Vision of St. Eustace shows his tendency to introduce numerous details of this character without regard to the subject in hand or to the unity of the composition. To the end of his career he never completely overcame the tendency. Irrelevant details confuse the composition of his masterpiece, the fresco in the Pellegrini chapel of S. Anastasia, Verona.

Most of Pisanello's work in this chapel has disappeared through the penetration of water, the falling of plaster, and like misfortunes. About all that remains is the scene of St. George and the Princess on the outside wall of the chapel at the right side of the entrance arch. Even this is badly damaged. In the middle foreground St. George, who has successfully overcome the dragon, is preparing to mount his horse. The princess, whom he has rescued, not the least ruffled by her recent exposure to the dragon or moved by the heroic deed of the auburn-haired knight, watches his preparation for departure with the calm dignity of a court lady closing an interview with an ambassador. She is richly attired in a feathered costume of contemporary vogue and wears the elaborate coiffure of which a number of studies are to be found in the artist's book. There are drawings of her face, too; the princess is clearly a portrait of someone with whom Pisanello was familiar. St. George is less graceful, but equally elegant in his silver armor. A very picturesque feature is the diminutive page, in full armor and mounted on a huge war horse, approaching from the right with the saint's great lance. At the extreme right of the picture the heads of two more horses are visible. There seems little justification for their introduction; they are taken from the artist's sketch book, where the detailed study of equine teeth is appropriate. Equally irrelevant is the group of knights at the left. Studies for some of these Oriental types are likewise preserved among Pisanello's drawings. Further to the left is a fantastic mountain and a ship sailing on the body of water that serves to divide this composition from the one at the left of the arch. Beyond a hilly landscape in the background we see the Gothic towers of the city that had attempted to save itself by delivering the princess up to the dragon. Pisanello intended to suggest a wide space between the foreground of the picture and the city; but all the architectural details are as distinct as if seen close at hand, or were, at least, when the picture was in good condition. Outside the city two men hanging on a gallows are introduced as gratuitously as Gentile da Fabriano introduced the little scene of the capture of some unfortunate in the background of his Adoration of the Magi (no. 762).

There are a number of details that recall Gentile's masterpiece. In both pictures a richly clad knight is the principal figure, a city and castle are

used in the background, horses are shown in rear and front view, prominence is given to other animals, and, above all, both pictures are conceived in the spirit of a fairy tale. But while Gentile relied a good deal on traditional forms, Pisanello worked always from his observation of nature. Yet in the effect of the composition as a whole, Gentile's picture is more modern than Pisanello's: Gentile understood better the subordination of accessories and the unification of composition; Pisanello lost his main theme in the midst of details. One does not particularly mind that; the picture has no religious significance anyway; the details are fascinating, and the total effect is very decorative. Like Uccello, working at the same time in Florence (cf. no. 784), Pisanello understood the decorative effect of tapestry-like spotting of lights and darks, and even though most of the silver and gilding has disappeared and the coloring is left quite somber, the Pellegrini fresco remains one of the fine things in Italian painting.

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Pisanello (c. 1397-1455)

Sts. Anthony and George (c. 1447)

Tempera on Wood. H. 18 in.

London, National Gallery

After the damaged, unclear fresco at Verona (no. 885), the little panel in the National Gallery makes a very favorable first impression. But closer study reveals the fact that the work of Pisanello is even less visible here than in the fresco; the fresco has at least been spared the hand of the restorer, while the panel has been so completely repainted by a Milanese picture restorer that nothing remains of Pisanello's work except the forms and the arrangement of the composition; the coloring and the brushwork are quite foreign to his style. In fantastic letters that might almost be mistaken for a clump of plants the panel is signed at the bottom: PISANVS PC. But the date of the picture is much disputed; some place it as early as the 1430's; in view of the drastic repainting, debate on that subject seems fruitless.

Before a closely-set forest of pines that recalls Sassetta's method of suggesting the hermit's seclusion (no. 729), St. Anthony stands ringing his bell and shaking the cord of his robe at St. George as if challenging the latter's approach. St. George seems not to notice the hermit's foolish action; if he notices him at all, it is to marvel that anyone could bring himself to wear such common, unattractive clothes. The young saint is like a courtier freshly decked for a pageant. His large Tuscan straw hat, coat of silver and gilt mail, silver plate armor, and quilted, fur-trimmed surcoat, with the cross of St. George embroidered on the back, produce a gay effect. It even seems reasonable to imagine that the object in his hand is a walking stick or a riding whip. Beside him are the heads of two horses, presumably his own horse and that of an attendant. It is the same motive that we noticed in the S. Anastasia fresco but seems less incongruous here. St. Anthony's pig and St. George's dragon lie like pets at the feet of their masters and look at each other with no more friendly expressions than do the saints themselves.

The queer combination of the two saints and their attributes is explained by the fact that this picture is transitional between the old-fashioned ancona, with its separate panels, and the true composition within a single frame. The saints would look normal in separate panels. The half-length Madonna, too, would make a very nice upper middle panel for a formal altarpiece; but she looks as out of place here as does a silver spangle pinned onto a painting in some shrine. But again, as in the case of the fresco, the picture has decorative charm and is very fine in its clear-cut, precise details that betray the hand of the medalist. Simulated medals of Lionello d'Este and Pisanello himself form the principal part of the embossed decoration of the frame. The archaic device of embossing under gilding is used also in certain details of the picture, such as St. George's sword hilt and spurs.

Atelier of Francesco Squarcione

Madonna of the Lazzaro Family (c. 1450)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 7½ in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

Since the time of Vasari, Squarcione has enjoyed much notoriety as founder of the Paduan school and teacher of many Paduan and Venetian artists, notably of Mantegna. As a matter of fact, up until his thirtieth year, at least, his reputation was based upon his ability as a tailor and embroiderer. From a document in the Venetian archives we gather that he took advantage of his relation to Mantegna, his adopted son, to pass as his own work paintings that were being done by Mantegna. In 1456 Mantegna had his master brought before the courts of justice to annul a contract which Squarcione had drawn up with him in 1448, presumably for the joint execution of some commission. The court declared the contract null and void on the ground that the father had deceived Mantegna, who was at the time of making the contract a minor and in the power of his father.

We are forced, therefore, to form a new appraisal of Squarcione, to look upon him as a contractor rather than as an artist. The two extant paintings attributed to him bear out this conclusion. In the gallery at Padua is an altarpiece in five parts that is shown by documents to have been painted by Squarcione in 1449-1452 for the Lazzaro family. It is a miserably weak piece of work in the manner of the Vivarini school. The second painting is the half-length Madonna in Berlin, likewise painted for the Lazzaro family, signed: OPVS SQVARCIONI PICT ORI -. The influence of Donatello in this panel indicates that it belongs to approximately the same period as the altarpiece in Padua, so difference in date cannot explain the vast difference in the styles of the two works. There are weaknesses in the Berlin panel: the Madonna is stiff and archaic in comparison to the lively Child, and the perspective is incorrect - the parapet is too far away for the Child to touch it with one foot while He clings to His mother's neck. But the picture has far greater merit than the polyptych. It is impossible to believe that both are the work of the same artist; and it is even possible that Squarcione painted neither, but that he took commission for, and signed indiscriminately, the pictures executed by members of the atelier for which he served primarily as contractor.

The principal influence in the Lazzaro Madonna is that of Donatello, who came to Padua in 1443. Accessories, such as candlabra at the sides and the garland draped across the top, derive from that Florentine sculptor, as do also the form and the motive of the Child rushing in fright to His mother. Donatello, more reasonably than Squarcione, might be considered the founder of the Paduan school.

Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

St. James Led to Execution (c. 1454-1459)

Fresco. Figures c. Life-Size

Padua, Church of the Eremitani

We do not need a teacher, Squarcione, to explain the artistic formation of the great Paduan artist Mantegna. He could have learned his technique from any one of the many creditable painters in Padua and Venice. And for the determination of his aesthetic ideals he had only to open his eyes and mind to the objects and life about him. Padua was the only Italian city that could vie with Florence as an intellectual center. She not only had her great university, with its traditions of eminent scholars, going all the way back to the early years of the thirteenth century, she was rich in the remains of antiquity, both in a material and an intellectual sense, and she shared the life also of Venice, that brought her contact with the outside world. In 1443 Donatello came to Padua, bringing the Florentine interest in nature, as well as a respect for classical sculpture to supplement that already alive in Padua.

Fra Filippo Lippi also came with his joyous love of reality, and Paolo Uccello, with the Florentine enthusiasm for scientific experiment. Then there was another visitor in Padua who proved to be of great importance to Mantegna and who was in large measure responsible for Mantegna's influence upon Venetian painting. About 1453 Jacopo Bellini came. Mantegna soon cemented a close relationship with this Venetian master by marrying Jacopo's daughter Niccolosia. The points of similarity that are to be noted between Giovanni Bellini and Mantegna are explained partly by a common dependence upon Jacopo (both not only followed that master's tutelage in many matters; they even borrowed in several instances whole compositions from his sketch books) and partly by their influence upon each other.

Though Mantegna was influenced more strongly by Donatello than by any other, the fundamental principles of the two masters are dissimilar. Donatello's work is dramatic; the action of his compositions is intense and concentrated. Mantegna's work is, in the Venetian manner, dreamy and contemplative; interest in details prevented concentration of action in most cases.

In intense dramatic action the scene of St. James Led to Execution approaches the work of Donatello more closely, perhaps, than any other painting by Mantegna. This scene forms part of the decoration of the chapel of Sts. James and Christopher in the church of the Eremitani at Padua. Squarcione, Mantegna's stepfather, was contractor for the decoration; his pupils did the work. Mantegna was apparently responsible for the whole homogeneous scheme; much of his design was executed by fellow members of the Squarcione atelier, but at least six of the principal compositions, including St. James Led to Execution, were carried out by his own hand.

In spite of the consistency in the scheme of the decorations of the chapel, there are changes in treatment as we follow from one design to another that show the development of Mantegna's art, his constant striving after new effects. The lowest course on the left-hand wall, to which our example belongs, differs strikingly from the rest in perspective representation. The vanishing point in the scene of St. James Led to Execution is determined by the height of the spectator standing on the floor of the chapel. The base line of the picture is about six and a half feet above the floor, consequently a little higher than the normal spectator. It is as if we were looking up at an opening in the wall through which is disclosed a scene set up on a floor that extends outward on a level with the base line of the picture. In such an arrangement, since the horizon falls below the base line, only the front figures are visible in full length; parts of the legs of those behind are cut off from view. It is an illusionistic effect that enhances the very realistic character of the composition. The arch, the costumes, and the accessories precisely picture the Roman period in which the apostolic scene took place. Even the Roman manner of representation is recalled by the instantaneous effect; we are reminded of the reliefs on the arch of Titus (no. 162). The soldiers have just led their prisoner through the arch at the left when they meet an afflicted man who wins the saint's compassion even as he is on his way to his execution. As he heals the man with the sign of blessing, a soldier in the middle foreground starts back in amazement; others halt in their march to look toward the miraculous scene, and curious crowds at the right are pushed back by the guards. There is an unusual amount of movement and dramatic feeling in the picture, yet no detail is sacrificed. With most painstaking accuracy the folds of drapery and the designs of the armors are worked out. Before he painted this, Mantegna looked long at nature, at ancient sculptures, and at the works of Donatello in Padua.

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Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga and His Family (Finished in 1474)

Fresco. Figures Life-Size

Mantua, Castello di Corte, Camera degli Sposi

Lodovico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, chose for his bed chamber one of the most protected parts of his castle, the large square room on the ground story of the northeast tower. This bare, flat-vaulted room, lighted by only two

closely barred windows, was transformed by Mantegna into a kind of pavilion open on all sides and covered by a network of carved stone hung with luxuriant garlands of fruit. In the center of the vault he made a circular opening that discloses a fleecy sky and a fanciful melange of putti, women, plants, and a peacock. Between the pillars that support the vault he hung curtains of gold brocade. These curtains are drawn back on the two best-lighted sides of the room so that we can see a wide portico and a distant landscape. In the angle of the room formed by the walls where the curtains are not drawn back stood the duke's marriage bed, from which he could look out upon the broad, airy spaces of Mantegna's imagination and forget the precarious nature of his existence that made it unsafe for him to sleep save in a most strongly fortified and carefully guarded apartment.

The marquis may have been glad to forget his physical insecurity, but he had no intention of forgetting his dignity. There is not a frivolous note in the two great pictures on the walls; both exalt the proud, serious character of the Gonzaga family. One depicts the meeting of Lodovico and his son Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. The other, which is shown in our reproduction, is Lodovico's family group. This is over the chimney-piece on the north wall. The composition is probably not, as some would have us think, a representation of some particular event. There is a little action at each extremity: the marquis, closely watched by his intelligent, if homely, wife, turns to speak with his secretary on the left, and a young man at the right comes down the porch steps to greet some more distant relatives or courtiers; but these motives are introduced only to give interest and variety to the composition, which is essentially a portrait group. Too little credit has been given Mantegna for this innovation in the art of portraiture; two centuries before Velasquez and Rembrandt this Italian master painted the Gonzaga family with as pure feeling for portraiture as is evinced in *Las Meninas* (no. 1080) or the *Cloth Syndics* (1277).

The ornate stone parapet in the background brings out the left side of the picture as the more important, and in the group assembled before it the marquis and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, both seated, are given most prominence. Several of the other figures can be identified with fair certainty. The marquis's eldest son, Federico, stands at the right of his father. The younger man standing behind the marchesa is probably her favorite son, Gian Francesco. The youngest son, Lodovico, who was already Bishop of Mantua when he was nine years old (1468), stands in front of Federico. The girl with an apple, in front of Lodovico, may be the youngest daughter, Paola. The white-haired man standing between Federico and Gian Francesco is said to be the family astrologer, Bartolomeo Manfredi, who was consulted before any important business was undertaken in the family. The proud youth standing in front of the pillar is Rodolfo, who was slain in battle on the Taro in 1495. The other figures have not been identified with any degree of certainty. The presence of the marquis's secretary and astrologer and of the female dwarf suggests that others may not be members of the Gonzaga family, but people who are close in a political or social association with it.

The decade that intervened between the Eremitani frescoes (no. 888) and those in the Camera degli Sposi accounts for the less harsh forms in the latter and the freer, more suave composition. Mantegna has not forgotten Donatello, but he has more completely assimilated that master's teaching and adapted it to his own individual style, which is, as we have noted, essentially Venetian. These aloof, dreamy, self-absorbed members of the Gonzaga family call up parallels in the oeuvre of Lotto, Titian, and Tintoretto. But the most striking feature of the Mantuan frescoes is their illusionistic effect. Mantegna's tendency in this direction was announced in the Eremitani decoration, especially in his new perspective treatment there. In the Camera degli Sposi he outstripped the Romans in their own province of illusionistic treatment. The plane of the wall is no longer a limitation for either background or foreground. The wall disappears entirely. We see beyond it on both sides. The setting and the figures reach far beyond the limits of the room and they extend out into the room itself. The latter effect is obtained primarily by representing curtains wrapped about pillars and some of the figures standing in front of the pillars.

A tablet held by angels over the door of the room bears the following inscription: "To the illustrious Marquis Lodovico II, most worthy prince, invincible in the Faith, and to his illustrious Lady Barbara of incomparable renown, their Andrea Mantegna of Padua has completed this humble work to their honor in the year 1474."

Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

Ceiling Decoration (1469-1470)

Fresco

Mantua, Castello di Corte, Camera degli Sposi

It would seem as if more than a coincidental similarity of interest must be assumed to account for the fact that less than a decade after Mantegna's work in the Camera degli Sposi, Melozzo da Forlì painted his fresco in the Vatican (no. 835), which is almost as purely a portrait group as the Gonzaga family, and his decorations of the Loreto Cathedral and SS. Apostoli at Rome, where the illusionistic treatment is comparable to that in the Camera degli Sposi. At any rate, Mantegna is clearly to be credited with the earliest ceiling decoration treated consistently from the point of view of the spectator standing on the floor below. The medallions and all the stucco or marble moldings that Mantegna has simulated are so foreshortened that the flat vault of the Camera degli Sposi appears to be a low dome, and the center is treated as an opening surrounded by a balustrade over which clamber steeply foreshortened putti. Other putti have stuck their heads through openings in the parapet and are howling when they are unable to extricate themselves, and the busts of others appear above the parapet. One, particularly, is echoed in an angel bust in Raphael's Sistine Madonna (no. 860), and all foretell Correggio's sympathy for child life and his decorative use of it (cf. no. 959). The use of the gorgeously colored peacock and the contrast of the negro face with the fair one beside it are Venetian tricks of enriching a painting. If this strange medley of figures has some allegorical significance we no longer have the key to it. The massive fruit garland that surrounds the circular opening is of the type that has been commonly considered as derivative from the school of Squarcione but which more likely comes directly from Donatello and indirectly from Roman reliefs. The total effect of the ceiling is still a marvel to all who visit the room, in spite of the fact that it is badly damaged, that parts of it are repainted - notably the group of three heads beside the plant - and that the execution of a large part of it must have been entrusted to Mantegna's assistants in the first place.

Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

Triumph of Caesar (1484-1492)

Tempera on Paper Mounted on Canvas. H. 9 ft.

Hampton Court, Orangery

After twenty years of service for Lodovico Gonzaga and six years for Lodovico's son Federico, Mantegna began the crowning work of his career for Federico's successor, Gian Francesco. With the exception of two years, when Mantegna was in Rome, his great series of paintings representing the Triumph of Caesar occupied him from 1484 to 1492. So far as we know, it was the first antique subject that this supreme lover of the antique undertook. He trusted none of its execution, we may believe, to assistants, and he expressed throughout the work an enthusiasm quite foreign to the usual staid, sedate fifteenth century artists.

Mantegna intended to add other - probably two - canvases to the series of nine that he completed. Though we know that in 1501 part of them, at least, were being used in the decoration of a theater, they were clearly never intended to be used as movable scenery. The only certainty is that they were planned for the decoration of a long wall and were to be placed between pillars or pilasters in such a way that the procession would seem to be continuous and to be passing behind the pillars. Until 1506 the pictures remained in the Castello di Corte at Mantua. In that year they were removed to Francesco's new palace near S. Sebastiano, where they remained till shortly before 1627, when they were brought back to the old Corte and placed in a room that had been prepared for them. Two years later they were bought at a high price for King Charles I of England, and we should count their preservation at Hampton Court since that time a matter of great good fortune were it not for the shameful restoration to

which they were subjected in the early eighteenth century. The canvases were so completely and heavily repainted that it is now possible to see hardly more than Mantegna's design. But the design alone is sufficient to sustain the judgment of contemporaries and of Mantegna himself, which places the Triumph at the summit of his work.

Trumpeters and standard-bearers lead the procession and are followed by soldiers carrying in their arms and on wagons captured images of gods, pictures of subjected towns, and piles of the enemies' armor and costly vessels filled with gold; next in order come the animals of sacrifice, elephants bearing lighted torches, soldiers with more trophies and vessels, then captive men, women, and children, clowns, musicians, and again standard-bearers, and finally Caesar himself on his triumphal chariot. It is easy to find likely inspiration for parts of the procession in classical literature. But Mantegna did not necessarily go directly to that source or to antique sculptural remains. It is more probable that he got his models in the processions that he actually saw. We have descriptions of similar Romanized processions organized on such occasions as the triumphal return of a general or enacted as pageants at festivities. Typical examples are Alfonso's entry into Naples in 1442 (commemorated in the arch of the Castel Nuovo at Naples, no. 629), Borso d'Este's entry into Reggio in 1453, the Triumph of Paulus Aemilius given in Florence for Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the Triumph of Julius Caesar represented in Rome for Caesar Borgia in 1500. In spite of the archaeological exactness of Mantegna's representation of arms, armors, standards, costume designs, and other accessories of the procession, parallels cannot be found in ancient sculpture for the complicated and animated character that he has given to the scene. The figures themselves are even less sculptural than in his earlier paintings; they are fuller and softer and the drapery is less heavy and stiff. His choice of the light-weight, fluffy draperies was determined, no doubt, by the desire to make their fluttering folds expressive of movement. Movement is the keynote of the whole series of canvases. Bodies strain forward in nervous, excited haste, with here and there a halting figure that emphasizes by contrast the forward sweep of the main body of the procession. Trumpets and standards pointing to the front, pennants, draperies, flames, and torch smoke - all blown back - enhance the impression of movement in this enthusiastic throng that presses forward toward the forum with the triumphator.

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Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

Madonna of Victory (1495-1496)

Tempera on Canvas. H. 9 ft., 2½ in.

Paris, Louvre

The fact that the portrait of Francesco Gonzaga does not appear anywhere in the series of paintings of the Triumph of Caesar (no. 891) might be taken as an indication of modesty on the part of the marquis. But that he was as little inclined to minimize his worth as was his grandfather, who commissioned the decorations of the Camera degli Sposi (nos. 889, 890), is evidenced by the altarpiece of the Madonna of Victory. This picture was painted as a votive offering in gratitude for a victory which would more accurately be termed a defeat; but the marquis may reasonably have hoped to deceive his subjects by this sincere portrayal of himself receiving the promise of victory from the Virgin. As general of the allied forces of the Italian states Francesco undertook to cut off the retreat of the French forces of Charles VIII, with the hope of annihilating them completely. Just as the battle seemed won, the Italian soldiers turned to plunder the enemy camp while the French escaped. The results were bad enough to bring much censure from the Venetian Republic upon Francesco, but he himself had fought bravely in the front ranks and in the midst of the danger had vowed a church to the Madonna. The church, stripped of its decorations and ecclesiastical equipment, still stands in Mantua, but its great altarpiece, through the irony of fate, was taken to Paris by the French in 1797, almost exactly three centuries after Francesco's vaunted victory over the French army.

According to extant records, the composition of the altarpiece was specified in detail, but unless alterations were subsequently made in the specifications, Mantegna himself deviated a great deal from them, especially in the

substitution of Sts. Elizabeth and John for the marchesa at the right of the throne, and in the omission of the brothers of the marquis on the other side. Mantegna has made Christ the center of the composition. Though the Madonna reaches down to bless the kneeling suppliant, it is to the little Christ's sign of benediction that the marquis looks. That little body is flooded with light, a light that strikes, too, the orange headdress of St. Elizabeth and the nude body of St. John, balancing thus the important figure of the marquis and the movement of the Madonna and Child toward the left. Sts. George and Michael, holding out the protecting mantle of the Virgin, are given special prominence in their capacity as saints of victory. Behind them appear the patron saints of Mantua, Andrew and Longinus. The figures are grouped with strict symmetry and the main lines of the composition follow a pyramidal scheme. A sense of compactness is obtained not only by the close physical proximity of the figures, but also by a close spiritual relationship between them. The picture is a masterpiece of spiritual communion between the kneeling general and the holy personages that surround him. It touches the highest level, too, that can be attained in richness of coloring by means of tempera technique. Very splendid are the bright draperies shot here and there with contrasting colors. The grisaille relief of the Temptation on the throne base only serves to make the strips of marble appear more gorgeous. But the most striking color features are given by the canopy that, in spite of its more severe, schematic treatment, recalls the graceful rose bowers of mediaeval Northern art. Against the dark green foliage that clusters around the carved trellis, the coral, pearls, flowers, and ripe fruits shine out like softly glowing lights.

America has some good examples of Mantegna's work in tempera. A beautiful half-length group of the Holy Family is in the Metropolitan Museum, for example, and a charming little Adoration of the Magi in the collection of Clarence H. Mackay, Roslyn, N.Y., reminds one of the central panel of the famous triptych in the Uffizi.

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Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506)

Parnassus (Finished in 1497)

Tempera on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 3 in.

Paris, Louvre

Mantegna's most successful work in the spirit of the cinquecento was inspired by the wife of Francesco Gonzaga, the charming Isabella d'Este. She, more justly than any other individual, perhaps, may be taken as the exponent of the new humanistic movement that was interested in the spirit of antiquity, in its beauty and gorgeousness rather than in an archaeological, detailed study of its remains. We are best acquainted with her art patronage through the five paintings that she commissioned for her studio in the palace at Mantua. Her desire seems to have been to procure for the adornment of that room paintings by all the best artists of her day. She tried, for example, to get Giovanni Bellini and Leonardo to contribute, and she did succeed in getting two paintings by Mantegna, one by Perugino, and two by Lorenzo Costa. All five of these are now in the Louvre, having been obtained by Cardinal Richelieu from the Mantuan house about 1630, soon after the Triumph of Caesar was purchased for Charles I of England. By the side of Mantegna's pictures Perugino's and Costa's look weak and commonplace, and one of Mantegna's is much better than the other. The two are to be dated in 1497 and 1502, and it is the earlier one, the Parnassus, that is superior. The later picture, representing the Triumph of Virtue over the Vices, shows more of the defects of Mantegna's old age.

Parnassus, or the Triumph of Love, is, like the other four subjects commissioned by Isabella, a classical theme, with mythological characters. On a rocky eminence in the middle of the picture stand Mars and Venus, silhouetted against a hedge of orange and lemon trees. They have just risen from the couch in the shelter of the trees and are still in a transport of love that renders them oblivious to their surroundings. It is the moment of leave-taking; their arms are entwined, their graceful bodies sway in rhythm to the music wafted up from below, and Mars gazes fondly upon the beautiful form of the goddess, from whom he is so reluctant to part. The mischievous god of love, Cupid, cannot resist the opportunity to call attention to this,

his supreme triumph as a match-maker; he blows his trumpet in the direction of Vulcan's smithy, and the jealous rage of Venus' husband is roused when he beholds the couple on the eminence. This little episode of discord is subordinate; all the foreground of the picture is filled with sympathy for the triumphant love. To Apollo's song and accompaniment on the lyre the muses join their sweet voices and dance a joyous roundelay. Mercury, the god of persuasive eloquence, who stands leaning against his winged horse, is an appropriate spectator. As a foil to this fanciful scene, the dwellings of man are visible through the openings in the rocky cliffs.

Though the theme is classical, Mantegna's treatment of it is not imitative of the antique. The beautiful nude Venus is suggestive of a Greek statue, but she is equally suggestive of Venetian beauties. She and the other figures in the composition show the eclectic tendency of the early sixteenth century. It is the kind of eclecticism recommended by Leonardo, the ideal of which is the synthesis of the finest qualities that are to be seen in nature, and it leads to a result similar to that obtained by the Greeks. The eclecticism practiced by the late sixteenth century was of a very different nature; it was an attempted synthesis of the finest qualities of the art of earlier masters and resulted too often in cloying sweetness and insipidity.

In richness and harmony of color the Parnassus stands with the Madonna of Victory at the apex of Mantegna's work. It is almost as splendid as the pictures that his brother-in-law, Giovanni Bellini, was painting in oil.

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Tura, Cosimo (c. 1430-c. 1495)

Pieta (c. 1470)

Tempera on Wood. H. 19 in.

Venice, Correr Collection

The art of the Ferrarese Cosimo Tura is a compound of the sculptural quality of Mantegna, the gnarled muscularity of Dürer, and the ugly realism of Roger van der Weyden. The compound is mixed, however, according to Tura's own recipe. Disproportionately large heads, hands, and feet, enlarged joints, contorted limbs, and withered skin regularly recur in his works. There are evidences of observation of nature in details but not in the conception of the whole forms. Tura's special ability lay in the beautiful enamel-like finish of his paintings and in the production of a splendid architectonic effect which was the result of his thorough knowledge of the mathematics of perspective. The solid mass of the high rock of Golgotha in the background, continuing the pyramidal lines of the group of the Pieta, and the perfectly drawn sarcophagus on which the Virgin is seated are largely responsible for the monumental effect of our picture. This sarcophagus indicates that Tura's subject is not strictly a Pieta (which is normally conceived as at the foot of the cross), but is derived, though with variations, from the legend of the Mass of St. Gregory, according to which the body of Christ, (which had already been deposited in the sarcophagus), surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, was raised up by angels, the Holy Women, and St. John. A fine version of this theme by Crivelli is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and we have it in one of our reproductions of the works of Giovanni Bellini (no. 908). Tura has placed the sarcophagus on the bank of a stream. Some beams laid across the stream in the middle distance serve as a bridge for Nicodemus, who has come down the winding road from the summit of Golgotha with the ladder that he has used in the Deposition. The monkey in the orange tree at the left is probably more than an incidental touch, but its significance is now unknown.

Foppa, Vincenzo (c. 1427-c. 1515)

Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (c. 1500)

Fresco. H. 8 ft., 9½ in.

Milan, Brera

Until displaced by the influence of Leonardo da Vinci, Mantegna's style prevailed in the Milanese district, as is well exemplified in the work of Vincenzo Foppa, born at Foppa, near Milan, and trained, for the most part, in the Paduan school. Before he painted the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian he must have familiarized himself with Mantegna's frescoes in the chapel of the Eremitani at Padua; one is reminded particularly of the scene of St. James Led to Execution (no. 888). St. Sebastian is bound to a column beside a triumphal arch, through which his executioners have come. One bowman is already piercing him with arrows, another approaches, directed by a soldier who stands at the far side of the archway. The architecture is carefully drawn, with an attention to vanishing lines suggestive of Mantegna, from whom even the motive of figures approaching through an arch is borrowed. In true Paduan manner, the figures are sculptural in form and metallic in texture and color. It is chiefly in the unnatural attenuation of the bodies and in the exaggerated expressions of the faces that we discover the more archaic character of Foppa. The fresco is a fragment from a series in the church of S. Maria di Brera. It is imperfectly preserved: the face of the soldier in the background is blackened, and the outlines of the other figures are repainted.

Francia, Francesco (1450-1517)

Virgin in the Rose Garden (c. 1500)

Oil on Wood. H. 5 ft., 7¾ in.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

An interesting example of the tempering of hard North Italian style with Umbrian softness is furnished by most of the work of the Bolognese painter Francesco Francia. His earliest paintings are characterized by ruddy flesh tones, sharply contrasting colors, distinct outlines, and chiselled details. Soon he was attracted by the paintings of Perugino that came to Bologna, and an Umbrian softness and sweetness spread over his pictures. The Virgin adorning her Child in a garden of roses (signed FRANCIA.AVRIFEX. BONO....) is one of his loveliest creations. It is a dignified, yet tender conception. The tones are more than usually harmonious and silvery; and the landscape has that peaceful, quiet spaciousness and those feathery trees that are so charming in Perugino's pictures. Francia's original drawing for this composition is in the Uffizi, and there is a copy of the painting in the museum at Berlin and another in the Bologna picture gallery. Francia was particularly successful as a portraitist. His head of a boy, Federico Gonzaga, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is one of the gems of that collection.

Vivarini, Bartolommeo (Active 1450-1499)

Madonna Enthroned with Saints (1465)

Tempera on Wood. Figures Half Life-Size

Naples, National Museum

Bartolommeo Vivarini introduces us to the custom, common in northern Europe but not so much followed in Italy, of continuing the practice of an art in one atelier through several generations. The most important of such ateliers in Venice were those of the Vivarini and the Bellini. Bartolommeo

da Murano, who began using his family name of Vivarini as early as 1459, united in his work a number of foreign influences: the elegant richness brought to Venetian art by Gentile da Fabriano is recognized in the brocaded mantle of the Madonna and the jeweled robes of the saints in the Naples altarpiece; the clear-cut outlines and the bird and plant life recall Pisanello; and the sculptural forms, the garlands of fruit and flowers, the relief decoration of the throne, and the throne itself bear witness to the influence of the Squarcionesque school. The use of the marble throne, which probably is to be traced to Paduan influence, and the grouping of the saints about it mark an important innovation in Venetian painting. It involved the abandonment of the elaborate polyptych arrangement of the altarpiece with the saints in separate panels in an intricate framework. That mediaeval form, of which we saw an early example in the work of Lorenzo Veneziano (no. 882), had been continued by the earlier members of the Vivarini atelier, and even Bartolommeo sometimes used it. The rich coloring of Bartolommeo's work was developed in his own atelier. Very striking is the Virgin's mantle, richly brocaded in gold on black velvet and placed against a green velvet hanging. The square, massive heads of the saints, with their coarse features and crude expressions, are characteristic types in Bartolommeo's pictures.

The four half-length figures in the sky that seem much too heavy to float on their little cloud banks are, at the left, Sts. Catherine and Dominic, and, at the right, Sts. Mary Magdalene and Peter Martyr. Below are the full-length figures of a bishop and St. Roch at the left of the throne, Sts. Nicholas of Bari and Louis of Toulouse at the right. The signature on the base of the throne reads: OPVS - BATOLOMEI - VARINI - DE - MVRANO - 1465.

898

Crivelli, Carlo (c. 1430-1493)

St. George and the Dragon (1470-1471)

Tempera on Wood. H. 3 ft.

Boston, Gardner Museum

No other Venetian was so obviously influenced by the school of Padua as was Carlo Crivelli. His early training seems to have been acquired in the Vivarini school, and the Paduan influence must have come through the better members of Squarcione's atelier, probably from Mantegna himself. Through most of his career Crivelli worked outside of Venice in the Marches and his style is individual and eccentric, not changing appreciably through the period 1468-1493, in which his dated pictures fall. He showed a preference for withered, lean, pallid figures and for such subjects as the Pieta, in which Christ's mourners wrinkle their faces in ugly grimaces and open their mouths to cry out in loud complaint (cf. Crivelli's versions of this subject in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York). Yet his pictures do not harass and pain the spectator because the figures do not look like real flesh and blood; they seem made of metal or stone. Even the Madonnas, with their tiny, pinched mouths, have a bitter expression. Crivelli's religious feeling is sincere but pessimistic. He always worked in tempera, which he perfected to the point of greatest durability; his panels are as fresh to-day as when first painted. With their profusely embossed details, extensive gilding, rich colors, and polished surfaces they vie with mosaic, goldsmith's work, enamel, and Japanese lacquer.

Not only in its quality of surface does the marvelous little painting in the Gardner Museum suggest Japanese art; the linear design approaches very closely the character of Japanese design with its flaming line. The nature of the subject matter has inspired more elegance and beauty of feature than is common with Crivelli. St. George is the slim, graceful knight of a fairy tale, who gallantly risks his life for the beautiful princess, who has sought a place of safety from which to view the encounter.

The picture of St. George and the Dragon was originally the wing of an altarpiece, the center of which was a Madonna and Child, surmounted by a Pieta. Its pendant, representing Sts. Peter and Paul, is in the Mond collection. In 1834 the altarpiece was intact in the principal church of the little town of Porto S. Fermo, on the Adriatic. Then the side panels passed into the Leyland collection, where they remained until 1892.

Crivelli, Carlo (c. 1430-1493)

Annunciation (1486)

Tempera on Wood. H. 6 ft., 10½ in.

London, National Gallery

Besides the harsh pessimistic, religious phase of Crivelli's art, that is exemplified in his *Pietas*, and the fairy-tale phase, that is represented by the *Gardner St. George* (no. 898), he had a third phase, that we might call religious genre, most perfectly exemplified in his masterpiece in the National Gallery, the *Annunciation*. This is more Venetian than Paduan, if by Venetian we mean not only native characteristics but also Northern features brought to Venice, ten years before this picture was painted, by Antonello da Messina. To be sure, Crivelli did not use, even in this richly colored panel, the new oil technique introduced by Antonello; but the elaborate architecture, with its profusion of decorative motives, and all the familiar details of every day life are what we might expect from one who has been fascinated by Antonello's painting of *St. Jerome in His Study* (no. 904). The general architectural plan of the composition came more directly from Jacopo Bellini (cf. no. 900).

Though Crivelli was probably not in Venice when he painted the *Annunciation* - it was commissioned for the church of the *Annunziata* in Ascoli - everything about the picture is suggestive of the luxuriant city of the lagoons: the elegant Venetian houses bordering very narrow streets that are paved with smooth flagstones (Venice had to import all her stone so could choose something nicer than the ordinary cobble stones that most Italian towns used because they were readily available); the Oriental rugs, with which the city was well supplied through her trade with the East; the peacock, of which she was fond because of its gorgeous plumage; and the pigeons, without which the *Piazza S. Marco* (no. 182) would not look natural. His very dissociation from Venice through most of his life seems to have made Crivelli the more anxious to connect himself with this city of his youth. As early as 1457 he was condemned to six month's imprisonment in Venice for moral misconduct; probably this disgrace determined his self-imposed banishment. However that may be, he continued always to designate himself "Venetian" in his signature.

It is fascinating to let the eye wander through the streets that Cravelli has pictured here, to listen to the conversation of the group of neighbors on the doorstep at the left, to try to imagine what important message the little page has just delivered to the rich merchant on the distant balcony, or to notice the interesting furnishings of the Virgin's sitting room. The whole picture is so natural and so casual, even to the Squarcionesque detail of the apple and cucumber outside the Virgin's door, that even the appearance of an angel in the narrow street or the ray of light piercing the wall of the Virgin's house does not strike us as supernatural or unusual. Contrary to all iconographic precedent the annunciate angel is accompanied by a bishop, St. Emidius, who carries a model of the town of Ascoli and expresses mild surprise at what the angel is saying to the Virgin through her grated window.

The picture is signed and dated on the pilasters of the doorway: OPVS CAROLI CRIVELLI VENETI - 1486. Below are the arms of the bishop, the pope, and the town, and the inscription: LIBERTAS ECCLESIASTICA. This inscription, meaning Independence under the Church, was invented to describe an agreement, of 1482, between the city of Ascoli and the pope, whereby the pope conferred municipal home rule upon the citizens in return for an annual tribute and recognition of his suzerainty. The appearance of the inscription on this picture of the *Annunciation* is explained by the fact that the pope's charter arrived on March 25, the Feast of the *Annunciation*, and a celebration was henceforth held on that day, with a procession to the church of the *Annunziata*, for which our picture was painted.

Bellini, Jacopo (c. 1400-c. 1470)

Annunciation (c. 1441)

Silver Point Retouched in Ink, on Parchment. H. 11½ in.

Paris, Louvre

Even more important than the Vivarini atelier was that of the Bellini, founded by Jacopo Bellini. This master is chiefly noted because of his two illustrious sons, Gentile and Giovanni, but he deserves first rank on his own merits. Jacopo was growing up in Venice when Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello were working together on the decoration of the Council Hall in the Palace of the Doges. Jacopo attached himself to Gentile as an assistant and studied too the work of Pisanello, whom he emulated in much of his later work. He is said to have followed Gentile to Florence, and though the stories that are told of his life there indicate that Gentile did not aid him in time of trouble, his admiration for his master endured, as is proven by the fact that he named his daughter Niccolosia (Niccolo is Gentile's second name) and his son Gentile.

Jacopo's great mural decorations have perished, and his work in painting is now represented by only a few comparatively minor panels. For a more just appreciation of his genius we have to fall back on his drawings, of which two large books have come down to us. The one in the British Museum is attributed to Jacopo and dated 1430 in a fifteenth century hand, presumably Gentile Bellini's; this dating is probably only approximate. The other sketch book in the Louvre resembles the first so closely as to obviate any doubt concerning its authorship; its drawings are better preserved than those in the British Museum book, because many of the original silver point designs have been traced with a pen. It is probable that most of the drawings in both books belong approximately to the period of Jacopo's sojourn at the court of Ferrara (around 1441). The eagle, emblem of the Este family, appears frequently, and the genre scenes are based on the life of a court of the interior, with little suggestion of the austere splendor of Venice, the calm of her canals, and the activity of her port.

These drawings admit us to Jacopo's daily thought and life. We see an artist who has broken away from Byzantine tradition, who has his eyes open to everything about him and records his impressions with the enthusiasm of an explorer. Processions, equipages, court ladies, elegant pages, war horses, all kinds of animals, antique objects, landscapes, and elaborate architectural scenes are among the subjects that attracted him. But he did not confine his pencil to the things that actually existed; with the same surety and minuteness he drew his fancies: dragons, bacchanals with playful satyrs, Pegasus, and other subjects inspired by mythology and his own fertile imagination. His desire to perfect his technical ability led him to choose difficult problems in perspective, figures in violent movement, and even studies of the nude. All this would have been commonplace to the Florentines, but it was a revelation to the Venetians. Neither Gentile da Fabriano nor Pisanello, the two most progressive men who had hitherto worked in Venice, had gone so far. In Jacopo's sketch books we find the whole program for the succeeding generation. The basic designs are there for Mantegna's epoch-making frescoes in the Eremitani, for Gentile Bellini's great processional pictures, for certain of Giovanni Bellini's compositions, for Crivelli's famous Annunciation (no. 899), for Carpaccio's legends - and to cite all the lesser, often indirect, but far-reaching influences would be an endless task.

The drawing of the Annunciation furnishes a good example of Jacopo's interest in perspective in its application to elaborate architectural representation. The angel surprises the Virgin at her reading on a large porch just outside her bedroom. A maid is carrying water into a near-by door, in the courtyard outside graceful peacocks plume themselves, and farther away a horseman and his servant are going through an arch that leads to broad fields and distant mountains. It is a quiet, peaceful scene, with evidences everywhere of refinement and culture, and, though the religious subject is not insisted upon, it is adequately expressed.

Bellini, Jacopo (c. 1400-c. 1470)

Madonna (c. 1460)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Uffizi

If we have to depend on the two sketch books for our idea of Jacopo Bellini's large, elaborate compositions, we have a fine example of his intimate, devotional painting in the half-length Madonna acquired some twenty years ago for the Uffizi. From it we learn, too, of what a rich coloristic effect he was capable, even with the old tempera medium. The picture is not signed, but its likeness to a signed Madonna in Lovere proves its authenticity beyond a doubt.

The harmonies of Oriental coloring of this little panel stand out even in the company of the sumptuously colored Venetian paintings where it hangs. The Virgin's white veil is bordered by carmine stripes in which Oriental characters are worked; her dress is of a soft bluish violet, embroidered in gold. The Child wears a blue mantle over an olive-green dress, both embroidered in gold. The halos are richly gilded, and the background is blue, darkened by time. It is such color harmonies as these that one gets in stained glass.

The spirit of the picture is thoroughly religious: the Virgin is calm and earnest, like a mediaeval devotional image that has caught the spirit of a new age and tempers solemnity with a tender sympathy for humanity; the Child is of the ecstatic, visionary type sometimes represented by Giovanni Bellini. The genre motive of His foot caught in the Virgin's robe gives a charming note.

Antonello da Messina (c. 1430-1479)

Condottiere (1475)

Oil on Wood. H. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Paris, Louvre

Of the men who brought foreign influences to bear upon Venetian painting at the moment when it was preparing to spring into full bloom none was more significant than the Sicilian Antonello da Messina. Formerly he was credited with the introduction into Venetian painting of the use of oil. Now, though his painting of Christ in the National Gallery (dated 1465) still accords him the distinction of being the first in Italy to master the technique, there is every reason to believe that he did not come to Venice until 1475, two years after the first dated oil painting by Bartolommeo Vivarini. Antonello's work was none the less a revelation; instead of the tentative experiments of Bartolommeo, it offered a perfected technique by which was to be obtained an enamel-like surface and a beautiful gradation of shadows that made possible the most realistic modeling. Antonello's mastery of oil painting, and other features of his work show such kinship with Flemish art that Vasari's statement that he visited Flanders was long accepted; now that more is known concerning his biography, it seems more likely that his knowledge of Flemish art was acquired from the many Flemish paintings that came to Sicily and southern Italy. He could have got much of it, too, from the fifteenth century Spanish paintings that South Italy's connection with Spain provided; they are dominated by Flemish influence.

The realism of Antonello's paintings is their most striking quality. His impersonal attitude toward his subject reminds one of his Tusco-Umbrian contemporary, Piero della Francesca. But his portraits have a greater sense of realism than Piero's, not only because his oil technique admitted of more detailed modeling than Piero's tempera and fresco, but also because he substituted for the traditional profile a three-quarters view that lets us look into the eyes of the sitter.

The portrait known as the Condottiere is almost startling in its realism. Not even Andrea Castagno's Pippo Spano (no. 788) represents so vividly the bold, self-confident soldier of fortune. The broad nose, protruding lower lip, square chin, the scar on the upper lip, and the clear, unflinching eyes give a striking character to the man that would mark him anywhere. Even such details as the blood vessels inside the lids are visible; yet all minutiae are subordinated to the expression of the character of the man, and the painting is beautiful in its blending of colors and transparency of shadows. This is the manner of painting that made possible the glory of Titian.

903

Antonello da Messina (c. 1430-1479)

Portrait of a Young Man

Oil on Wood. H. 10 5/8 in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Though less striking than the Condottiere (no. 902), this portrait very adequately represents Antonello's remarkable power as a draftsman and portraitist. The surface is enamel-like in finish, the colors are rich and delicately blended, and the expression is instantaneous and full of life. The subject is a youth of about seventeen. His reddish hair is confined by a jaunty dark cap that enhances his care-free manner.

The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired another painting attributed to Antonello da Messina which is unusual in composition and very rich and beautiful in coloring. The subject is the Madonna and Child and Little St. John.

904

Antonello da Messina (c. 1430-1479)

St. Jerome in His Study (c. 1475?)

Oil on Wood. H. 19½ in.

London, National Gallery

How very Flemish some of Antonello's work is one realizes from the fact that the jewel-like panel of St. Jerome in His Study, now universally accepted as the work of Antonello, was from the sixteenth century down to the middle of the nineteenth more generally attributed to Jan van Eyck or Memling. Certainly the Northerners must have been responsible for the interest that Venice developed in this genre-like insistence upon a multitude of intimate details. We see it a little later in Crivelli's Annunciation (no. 899), and we see it still later in the popularity of this very subject of St. Jerome in His Study. Ghirlandaio had painted the subject (no. 813) with a minutiae of detail comparable to Holbein; but the figure of the saint pretty well filled the space. Antonello's picture, which set the type for the Venetians, might well be labeled, "An Interior." The saint is only one of the entertaining objects in the large room. We are looking into an elegant Venetian home; tiled courtyard, arcaded loggia, rich plumage of peacock and partridge help produce a sense of luxury and ease. It is a type of subject to which Antonello's rich, materialistic manner of painting was well suited. For wealthy, pleasure-loving Venice no better medium of painting could have been found than that introduced by the artist from Messina.

Bellini, Gentile (c. 1429-1507)

Portrait of Mohammed II (1480)

Oil on Canvas. H. 2 ft., 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

London, National Gallery

Gentile Bellini, who was probably the elder of Jacopo's two sons, clung to the traditional style of his father. He was more mediaeval than Renaissance in spirit, for he aspired to good workmanship rather than to originality. So the excellencies of his works are such as characterize the masterpieces of the Flemings - of the van Eycks (cf. nos. 513-519), and of Roger van der Weyden (cf. nos. 521-525) - a minute, careful technique equaled only by a painstaking, exact interpretation of the subject. The development of portraiture was the natural outcome of these tendencies in Gentile as it had been in the Flemings, and some of his most notable works are in that field.

In 1479 Gentile Bellini, at that time in the service of the Venetian government, was sent by the doge to Constantinople in pursuance of a request from Sultan Mohammed II for a painter. He remained in Constantinople a little more than a year, painting court personages and scenes. The portrait of the sultan now in the National Gallery is the one authenticated memento that remains to us of that sojourn. The subject of the painting, the name of the artist, and the date of the work are included in the long inscription, now nearly effaced: TERRARVM MARISQVE VICTORAC DOMATOR ORBIS S . . . LIN SVLTAN INT . . . (MA) AOMETI RESVLAT ARS VERA GIENITILIS MILITIS AVERATI BELINI NATVRAE CVNCTARIT . . M . . V . . . V . . O . . . REDVCIT PROPRIAM E . . . M- . . . D SIMVL . . CORE. MCCCCLXXX DIE. XXV. MENSIS NOVEMBRIS. The whole canvas has been badly damaged and extensively restored. But it remains a striking example of Gentile's work. The surface is of a beautiful, enamel-like texture, and the drawing shows the minutiae of a miniature. The character of the sultan is remarkably portrayed: beneath his veneer of imported culture, he is still sensual, scheming, and cruel. The arrangement of the composition is somewhat bizarre: the enframing arch, pilasters, and parapet suggest a window, through which the figure is seen; yet that framework is not continued by a wall; it is merely placed against a dark background, and the upper angles of this background are filled by triple crowns, symbolizing the empires of Constantinople, Iconio, and Trebisonda. In spite of the somewhat artificial appearance of the framework, Gentile has made it serve a good purpose, using its rich ornament and the profusion of jewels on the piece of embroidery hung over the parapet as a foil to the kind of savage simplicity of the sultan. He wears no jewels; he is dressed in a plain red robe with brown fur collar and a white turban over a red cap. The brown collar, the somber background, and the black hair and beard bring out most effectively the clear, transparent skin of the face and neck.

This portrait is not unique in conception. Antonello da Messina's bust of a condottiere (no. 902), painted only a little earlier, has been aptly compared with the portrait of the sultan in spirit.

Bellini, Gentile (c. 1429-1507)

Portrait of a Mohammedan Prince (1479?)

Water Color on Paper. H. 7 1/8 in.

Boston, Gardner Museum

Though unauthenticated by inscription or document, we may confidently accept the water-color portrait of a Mohammedan Prince in the Gardner Museum as another memento of Gentile Bellini's sojourn in Constantinople in the years 1479 and 1480. The miniature was found a few years ago in a fine Oriental album that had belonged to an old Turkish family. The album had been compiled apparently about the year 1600. Perhaps at the same time the spray of flowers in the left upper corner of the Gardner sheet was added by a Turkish artist. The casual insertion of these flowers without any relationship to the subject of the picture, and their flat surfaces and sharp outlines are wholly Oriental.

Also the inscription at the right is a later addition. It may be translated: "Work of Ibn Muezzin, who was a famous painter among the Franks." The only plausible explanation of this inscription is that, Gentile Bellini having been forgotten when the inscription was added, the work was attributed to an European artist then in favor, whose name was translated "Ibn Muezzin" (son of the man who calls the Moslems to prayer).

The young Mohammedan is dressed in a blue robe richly ornamented with a white and gold design and finished with purple collar and sleeves. Purple, too, is the cap about which the white turban is wound. The costume indicates that the youth was of high position; probably he belonged to the family of the sultan, but suggested identifications are not convincing.

Gentile has attempted in this portrait to follow Oriental methods, to represent the figure by means of contour lines and contrasts of local color rather than by modeling in light and shade. His success was only partial. How far his work differs from that of the real Oriental artist is clearly brought out by comparison of the work with a recently discovered copy of it signed by Behzad, famous Persian miniaturist of the early sixteenth century (reproduced as frontispiece to the Burlington Magazine, vol. XVII, 1910). In this copy the figure is seen as a mass of dark against the light background. The contour line is sharply marked and of a calligraphic significance that finds close parallels in the works of Simone Martini (cf. no. 712). The forms of the body are distinguished by contrasts of color rather than by light and shade. The eye is represented more as if seen in full-face, the ornamental design of the robe has been changed to a more delicate arabesque, and, incidentally, Behzad has corrected Bellini in the shape and placing of the turban.

Other, less exact, Oriental versions of Gentile's miniature have been identified. The portrait was clearly popular in the East. Probably, as has been suggested, it was painted for the Sultan of Herat or the Shah of Persia, whom Behzad served as court painter.

907

Bellini, Gentile (c. 1429-1507)

Procession in Piazza S. Marco (1496)

Oil on Canvas. H. 11 ft., 10 in.

Venice, Academy

Gentile Bellini's fame is based chiefly on his large mural decorations, panoramic scenes that initiated the Venetian art of city view painting, which was continued by Bellini's younger contemporary, Carpaccio (cf. no. 916), and perfected by Guardi and Canaletto (nos. 116-118) in the eighteenth century. Gentile and his brother had worked with their father in the decoration of the great hall of the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista. It was natural, therefore, for Gentile to be given charge of the decoration of the anteroom for that corporation. We have three compositions, in various states of preservation, from that work which are largely from the hand of Gentile. Their subjects are certain miracles connected with the fragment of the True Cross which had been acquired by the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista in the fourteenth century and which was held in great veneration. The finest of these compositions represents a procession on St. Mark's Day, 1444. As the relic of the True Cross passed in the procession, a certain Ser Giacomo Salis, a bourgeois from Brescia, knelt before the reliquary and prayed for his son, who was at the point of death; even as he prayed, the son was miraculously cured. This episode, important in the traditions of the confraternity, is not emphasized in Gentile's painting. The Brescian citizen kneels near the reliquary, but there is no conspicuous break in the procession; it seems only chance that the candle bearers have fallen a little behind so that we see the praying man in the crowd of spectators. No one takes any notice of him; most of the bystanders are watching the procession; some are talking among themselves.

Gentile's interest was not in the miracle, but in the imposing spectacle of the procession in the great square of St. Mark's. In the middle foreground is the sacred reliquary carried by members of the confraternity and sheltered by a baldachin from which hang monograms and coats of arms. The bearers of the reliquary are preceded by candle bearers, singers, and musicians, and

again white-robed candle bearers, who are forming in a phalanx on the left side of the square. Behind the reliquary come other candle bearers, then the civic representatives of Venice - men carrying standards - and finally the doge himself, and the magistrates, procurators, and nobles, preceded by trumpeters. Presumably these wings of the procession, at left and right, are largely the work of Mansueti, who was working in the Scuola at the same time as Gentile. The procession enters the square through the passageway between the doge's palace and St. Mark's. To avoid any appearance of thinness or meagerness in the procession, that is only double file, and at the same time to increase the realistic effect, Gentile has packed a crowd of spectators close behind the procession throughout its length. Other onlookers scattered over the square enhance the effect of spaciousness and lend interest to the picture by their colorful costumes of contemporary pattern. The costumes of the members of the procession seem quite stiff with their long tubular folds. If Gentile has hurried through these costumes in somewhat stereotyped fashion, he has spent no end of pains in the realistic portrayal of details of pose and feature. To be sure, many of the faces, with their long, sharp noses, are modeled after a set type; but others are minutely characterized portraits; some, such as the stout candle bearer who is fourth from the right edge of the picture, are even caricatures. Gentile's observation of the varied manner in which the men carry their candles is amusing. Those who feel the dignity and importance of their task carry their candles upright. The more careless and indifferent carry theirs at any angle; it would seem that the most absent-minded ones would be sure to set their neighbors' robes on fire.

The most remarkable features of the great composition are the suggestions of atmosphere and space in the square and the beautiful rendition of St. Mark's, the doge's palace, and the other buildings at the sides. No detail seems slighted in these delineations and yet no detail detracts from the glorious effect of the whole. Archaeologically the picture is of great importance because it shows St. Mark's with the old mosaics, all but one of which have been displaced by more recent decorations (cf. no. 182). The doge's palace looks much as we may see it to-day (cf. no. 611), as do also the base of the campanile (cf. no. 182) and the arcade on the left of the piazza.

The work on the decorations in the anteroom of the scuola occupied several years, but we know the exact date of our canvas from the inscription which it bears: MCCCCLXXXVI GENTILIS BELLINI VENETI EQVITIS CRVCIS AMORE INCENSVS OPVS.

908

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Pieta (c. 1470)

Tempera on Wood. H. 2 ft., 10 in.

Milan, Brera

There is hardly a better illustration of the individualism developed by the Renaissance than is afforded by the contrasting characteristics of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, brothers of nearly the same age, subjected to the same artistic influences, and working side by side through long periods, yet totally different in their attitudes toward their art. Gentile was a traditionalist, clinging in his art to the lines mapped out by his father, Jacopo Bellini. Giovanni was a progressive; he responded successively to the influences of such artists as Mantegna, Antonello da Messina, and Giorgione, continually changing styles "as one changes horses in a relay, to go more swiftly." We have nothing to indicate that either Gentile or Giovanni had developed much individuality before about 1470. Presumably their father, in whose bottega they worked until that period, dominated the first forty years of their careers. In the meantime the whole bottega, while located at Padua, was strongly affected by the sculpture that Donatello had left in that city and by the painting and personality of Mantegna, who had married into the Bellini family. Probably this brother-in-law, a master of searching expression, was not a little responsible for Giovanni's partiality for the subject of the Pieta in his early career. Still more influential in this respect, probably, was the example of the Flemish masters, with whose work the Venetians were familiar. In any case, we have a considerable number of Pietas among Giovanni's earlier works, while in his later periods, when he had become

less Mantegnesque, less Flemish, and more Bellinesque in his style, that subject dropped out of his repertory quite completely and its place was taken by the serene Madonnas that we ordinarily associate with the master.

Finest of all Giovanni's Pietas is the one in the Brera, on which his name is given in the inscription: HAEC PERE QVVM GEMITVS TVRGENTIA LVMINA PROMANT BELLINI POTERAT FLERE IOANNIS OPVS. In connection with Cosimo Tura (see no. 894) we have had occasion to notice the confusion in the quattrocento of the two originally distinct subjects of the Pieta, at the foot of the cross, and the vision of Christ in the tomb surrounded by dramatis personae of the Crucifixion and the instruments of the Passion, a subject derived from the legend of the Mass of St. Gregory. In one of Bellini's paintings there are angels with the dead Saviour, in another He is accompanied by putti. In our example, where the sarcophagus is indicated only by a marble ledge, the two persons most intimately related to Christ, His mother and St. John, are present. This intimate relationship is the basis of the appeal of the picture. St. John and the Virgin touch Christ and press His hand to His body with the most tender solicitude. The Mother presses the thorns against her brow as if she would bear in His stead the torture and mockery of that crown. She looks persistently at His closed eyes as if by the very strength of her desire she would force them to open and respond to her love. She draws His cheek against hers as if she would enliven His cold, drawn flesh with her warm touch. And she brings her parted lips close to His as if she would let her breath replace that which has gone from Him. There is no representation of the Madonna and Child that equals this Pieta in expression of the Mother's identification of the Son with herself. So sensitive was Bellini to the intimacy of expression that he could not allow even the Beloved Disciple to desecrate it by attempting to share it. St. John looks away. His eyes are heavy with long weeping, and his mouth is open as if he were calling others to behold the object of his great sorrow.

The fertile landscape in the background, of which we catch glimpses at left and right, echoes the mood of the figure group. The river is stirred into little waves and the whole scene looks ominous under the dark, lowering clouds that hang in horizontal streaks across the sky.

These horizontal lines that cut straight across the picture with an effect of inevitableness are repeated in other dominant lines, in the ledge of the sarcophagus, in the Virgin's chin, Christ's collar bone, and in the bent arms of all three figures. The tendency of all the forms is toward broad, plane masses. Mantegna's more intricate treatment is still influential in the veining of Christ's left hand and arm and in some details of the drapery. Strongly reminiscent of Mantegna are also the metallic curls of Christ and especially of St. John (cf. no. 888). The minute, exquisite finish of the picture rivals the work of the Van Eycks (cf. nos. 513-519).

909

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

St. Francis of Assisi (c. 1480)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft., 1 in.

New York, Frick Collection

One of the most notable Renaissance paintings in America is Giovanni Bellini's picture of St. Francis in the Frick collection. As a landscape painting, which it essentially is, it is unsurpassed by any Italian work of the fifteenth century. We usually think of Giovanni Bellini as a painter of Madonnas. But he was a landscapist too. For though a religious or allegorical subject was in his day still considered essential to painting, he appreciated the lyric value of landscape and developed it so far that Giorgione's pastorals are only the normal sequence of Bellini's work. In later paintings, like the Allegory in the Uffizi (no. 910), the landscape has become more generalized, more velvety, and dreamy. In the Frick canvas, which, by analogy to works of known date, is to be placed about the year 1480, nature is studied with more attention to detail. A little suggestion of Mantegna is to be seen in the somewhat schematized forms of the lower strata of rock in the foreground. But trees, shrubs, leaves, and flowers are depicted with a botanical accuracy that rivals the work of Leonardo (cf. nos. 805, 807), while the best animal painters are challenged by the closely observed forms of the birds and the ass,

that enhance by their quiet poses the noonday stillness of the scene. The balance between emphasis of detail and of general design is marvelous. One may let the eye wander through the picture reveling in the varied forms of nature or one may lose sight of the detail in absorption in the quiet, lyric mood of the whole.

The figure of the saint heightens, rather than detracts from, the effect of the landscape. The subject is clearly the miracle of the stigmatization, for St. Francis stands with foot advanced, hands outspread, and eyes directed upwards toward the source of the piercing rays, and the stigmata are already upon him. Yet the rays do not cut across the picture and their source is invisible to us; such a presentation of the subject, without the apparition of Christ on the cross and without the rays projected from His wounds, is unique. It would seem that Bellini must have rebelled against bringing into this landscape the actual representation of anything supernatural. St. Francis' strongest appeal has always been through his appreciation of nature. He gave the enjoyment of nature to the Christian world, which had been blind to surrounding beauties. He taught man to see the spirit of God in the flowers and birds. And so Bellini has represented him not as a withered hermit in a desert, but as a strong, vigorous man who has chosen a quiet nook in a friendly landscape for his study. He has not gone too far from his fellowmen - we see a shepherd in the distance and just beyond is a picturesque town with surrounding fields and meadows - and he only needs to ring the bell that hangs in the arbor above his desk when he wants the companionship of his holy brethren. He has risen from his study and stands entranced by the consciousness of God's presence. No one can look at the picture without feeling himself in the place of St. Francis; many times we have stood thus transported by the spirit of nature. For a full appreciation of Bellini's conception of the theme of the stigmatization one needs to contrast it with such a picture as Sodoma's Ecstasy of St. Catherine (no. 735).

Our painting is signed "Joannes Bellinus" on a piece of paper fastened to a branch at the left. It was seen in the collection of Taddeo Contarino in 1525 by the "Anonimo Morelliano," who wrote of it thus: "The oil painting of St. Francis in the wilderness was done by Giovanni Bellini. It was begun by him for Messer Giovanni Michiel, and has a landscape all but finished and wonderful in its attention to detail." It has been conjectured that Bellini left unfinished a small part of the castle hill, with little round trees that are in the manner of Girolamo da Santacroce, who may have completed this passage just after Bellini ceased work on the canvas.

910

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Religious Allegory (c. 1490)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

The fascinating Religious Allegory in the Uffizi approximates music even more closely than does the beautiful picture of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata (no. 909). A period of about ten years separates the two pictures, ten years in which Bellini was approaching ever nearer to an art in which subject matter and form of expression would be in perfect harmony. It is small wonder that the picture has at times been attributed to Giorgione, the master of lyric mood. The landscape is a little less detailed, a little more generalized than in the St. Francis composition, and it has more atmosphere. Bellini has developed an excellent sense of space. One feels that one could walk all around these figures and that it would take fifteen or twenty minutes to row across from the island in the foreground to the figures on the distant bank.

The subject of the allegory, which seems so puzzling, has been recognized in a mediaeval poem, a kind of pre-Dantesque Divine Comedy, Guillaume Deguilleville's Le Pelerinage de l'ame. The paved court in the foreground enclosed by a marble balustrade is paradise, where little children, symbolizing souls, gather food from the tree of life, symbol of Christ. All about are holy personages who act as intercessors for the souls. They are engaged in silent prayer to the invisible divine spirit. The Virgin, as chief intercessor, is enthroned at the left under the traditional vine stock.

To her right is an unidentified female saint. To her left is Justice with crown but no sword; outside the balustrade St. Paul stands holding his sword above Justice. St. Paul and St. Peter act as guards at the open gates of paradise. At the right end of the enclosure stand the two favorite saints of Venice, Job, bronzed by the sun, and Sebastian, pale and pierced with arrows. The only sound that seems to come from the figures is the patter and prattle of the children, like the music of a little fountain. It does not interrupt the quiet meditation of the intercessors, and it harmonizes with the distant sounds of pastoral life that come from beyond the water. That smooth unrippled surface is the river Lethe, which purifies the souls of their sins. Even Monet (cf. no. 1238) has hardly surpassed the effect that Bellini here obtained of the delicate mirroring of banks, trees, and other objects in the water. The water and the landscape beyond are peaceful and serene, echoing the mood of the scene in the foreground as the ominous landscape of the Pieta (no. 908) echoes the mood of Christ's mourners. This landscape, in our allegory, represents the earth, where people go about their daily life; we see two women conversing, a man driving his beast of burden, another hurrying to market, a shepherd tending his sheep, an Arab at the left wandering blindly away from the place of immortal bliss, and then, at the extreme right, a hermit, suggestive of religious life, the best insurance for admission to paradise. In this scene of a hermit coming down the steps beside which stands a centaur there seems to be a special reference to the legend of St. Paul the Hermit, who inquired his way of a centaur.

Occupied so much with the formal composition of the altarpiece, Bellini reveled in the freedom that he found in such paintings as this and the St. Francis (no. 909). There is no suggestion of formality here. The figures are scattered about with perfect ease and apparent indifference to composition. The forms of cliffs, trees, shrubs, and buildings (the castle on the hill was used also in the St. Francis landscape) are chosen for their picturesque character. This free form of composition is an inheritance from Jacopo Bellini (cf. no. 900); it suits well Giovanni's lyric fancy. And with all its freedom and informality it is still a perfect unity: the quiet, peaceful mood that breathes from every detail and the soft, golden atmosphere are the binding forces.

911

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Madonna of the Trees (1487)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 5 in.

Venice, Academy

What the Granduca Madonna (no. 856) is to Raphael, the Madonna of the Trees is to Giovanni Bellini. In spite of its great injury through cleaning and restoration (only the landscape views at the sides are well preserved), this precious panel is the most loved of Bellini's half-length Madonnas. The sculptural forms of the Brera Pieta (no. 908) have given place to soft, supple flesh that is bathed in a warm, mellow glow of color. Giovanni has forsaken the metallic textures of Mantegna; he has given up tempera and developed rich effects in the oil medium; he has turned from the personal, heart-rending expression of the Northerners to a mood more reserved and serene. In other words, he has gradually molded his art to conform to the spirit of his own serene, golden city of the lagoons. The Madonna of the Trees brings us to the point in his career where Giorgione and Titian entered his atelier and we can no longer be sure just how much in his pictures is his own spirit, which Giorgione inherited from him, and just how much is caught from the spirit of his pupil. Certain it is that this picture is characterized in a large degree by that intangible lyric quality encroaching upon the realm of music that we have come to label "Giorgionism." Both mother and Child are quietly posed and seem to listen with bated breath to distant music. It is the same spirit, only less emphasized, that we find a little later in Giorgione's pastorals. The mood of the figures is echoed in the glimpses of broad golden landscape at the sides; and the two trees in particular, which, if we must discover any but decorative excuse for them, may be taken as symbols of the Old and New Testaments, are particularly suggestive of Giorgione.

Our picture is signed and dated on the parapet: IOANNES. BELLINVS. P . 1487. To the same year, probably, we may attribute a half-length Madonna in the collection of Mr. John N. Willys, Toledo, Ohio. The general design of the latter picture seems derived from that of the Madonna of the Trees, and the mood of the Madonna is closely similar, though her dreaminess and self-absorption are more strongly emphasized by the motive of the Child trying in vain to attract the mother's attention.

912

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Madonna of the Frari (1488)

Oil on Wood. Figures c. Life-Size

Venice, Church of the Frari

The arrangement of the mother and Child in the Madonna of the Trees (no. 911) is closely similar to that in the triptych painted for the church of the Frari. The two paintings are of the same date, for though the inscription on the Frari painting - IOANNES BELLINVS P. 1488 - dates this work a year later than the Madonna of the Trees, it was probably begun two or three years earlier. In spite of the fact that the Frari painting is a large altarpiece, the Madonna appears less reserved, less formal than in the little half-length version. She is still pensive, but more cheerful and human. She is not the mystic Mother of God, who foresees her Child's fate. She is just a sweet, contented human mother. As in the Madonna of the Trees, a lyric quality pervades the picture. Though not moody, our Madonna is thoughtful, and she and the Child and the attendant saints as well are listening quietly to the music of the two little angels at the foot of the Virgin's throne. It is not a matter of chance that musical angels soon came to be a distinctive feature of Venetian Madonna pictures. Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian developed a type of painting more closely approximating music than any other school has ever attained. Because such a picture as the Madonna of the Trees produces a mood akin to that produced by music, it was natural for the artists to indicate some source of music wherever possible. With this musical mood the coloring of the Frari triptych is in perfect harmony. The technique is similar to that introduced into Venice by Antonello da Messina (cf. nos. 902-904): most minute gradation of light and shade is obtained by allowing the gesso ground to shine through the upper layers of paint in varying degrees; and the hues are beautifully harmonized in spite of the play of contrasts. Antonello da Messina never obtained an effect so mellow and so glowing.

Not least remarkable is Bellini's adaptation of the mediaeval form of altarpiece. The polyptych or triptych form is fundamentally disintegrative. Bellini has made of it a unified whole. The three divisions are clearly marked, with richly ornamented pilasters (the whole frame is original); but the side panels are so arranged that they lead up to the middle panel. They are lower than the middle panel and the figures in them turn toward the Madonna. It is as if the Madonna were enthroned in the apse of a church while the saints stand in the entrances to the ambulatory. These saints are splendid, dignified figures. Like Dürer's Four Apostles (no. 561), they are sometimes called the Four Temperaments, and it is not unlikely that Dürer's apostles were inspired by them. The two foremost figures are St. Nicholas, at the left, and St. Benedict, at the right. Possibly those in the rear are Sts. Peter and Paul. The type of the Madonna, especially in the character of her eyes, is anticipated by the half-length Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum of about 1483. The Child in the latter picture bears some relationship to the little musical angels in the Frari altarpiece.

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Madonna and Saints (1505)

Oil Transferred from Wood to Canvas. Figures Life-Size

Venice, S. Zaccaria

Stylistic comparisons for the Frari triptych (no. 912), painted in 1488, are to be found mainly in earlier art. Bellini had improved upon old methods, to be sure, but he was still modeling his figures within a firm outline, and he confined them closely within heavy architectural forms. It is significant that the dates of the Frari and S. Zaccaria altarpieces fall in different centuries, for the former is distinctly quattrocentesque, while the latter is as characteristically a product of the cinquecento. In the later work the architecture is light and spacious, and the contours melt into the surrounding forms. Both changes result from the discovery of a new atmosphere by Venetian painters. Gentile Bellini's large picture of the procession in the Piazza of St. Mark's (no. 907), painted at the turning point of the centuries, has atmosphere, but not quite of the rich Venetian mellowness that we find in Giovanni's S. Zaccaria altarpiece. Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna (no. 923) of 1504 is the true parallel. And which of the two artists, Giovanni Bellini, or his pupil, Giorgione, is to be given more credit for the innovation it is impossible to say. Bellini's Religious Allegory (no. 910) of some years earlier shows the method almost perfected. This mellow atmosphere, such as hangs over the lagoons of Venice, bathes the figures in its glow and renders the modeling everywhere softer and more varied. Since the effect of the picture was now so much influenced by the surrounding atmosphere, a necessity for more space was felt.

Giovanni and his pupil were no so similar in their conception of the human figure. Giorgione based his types on the classic norm; Giovanni retained his youthful Italian types of the Madonna and female saints, only making them ever more graceful and flower-like. The two male saints in the S. Zaccaria altarpiece, Peter and Zacharias, seem a little square and blocky due to the more voluminous drapery that has come into fashion in painting; and the features of Sts. Catherine and Mary Magdalene are slightly common; but nothing could be more charming than this Madonna who looks down at her worshippers.

Her gaze is actually directed toward her worshippers, for one of the modern features of the altarpiece is its arrangement with respect to its intended location. It still stands on the altar for which it was painted, and we can see how its perspective is arranged to suits its elevation and the lines of the surrounding architecture, just as its light and shade are manipulated to agree with the lighting of the church. When one stands near the altar one's gaze is met by that of the Virgin, of the blessing Child, and of St. Peter. The musical angel, whose eyes have lost their luster through restoration, looks farther out, over the congregation.

Other details of the picture, as the shaded side of the Virgin's face, the left hand of St. Catherine, and the hair of the Magdalene, have been re-touched, but, on the whole, the work is well preserved and is one of our most priceless examples of the mature period of the artist. It is signed: IOANNES BELLINVS MCCCCCV.

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516)

Portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredano (c. 1505)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft.

London, National Gallery

Fate seems to have conspired with nature to make the Bellini brothers seem to us strikingly dissimilar. For while from Gentile's hand there are extant, besides several single portraits, large decorative canvases that

contain numerous portraits, only one authenticated portrait by Giovanni has survived, though we know that in his private practice he executed many single portraits and that as government painter he incorporated large numbers of portraits in his decorations, particularly those that he painted for the Venetian Council Hall. One of his duties was the execution of official portraits of the doges.

The one unquestionable portrait by Giovanni Bellini that remains inspires deep regret for the loss of the others. It represents Doge Leonardo Loredano in his robes of white and gold brocade, with his horned ducal cap over a white linen coif. A blue background and red-brown parapet enliven the color effect. The picture is signed IOANNES BELLINVS but is not dated. Comparison with Cateno's portrait of this doge done in 1508 indicates that Giovanni's belongs to about the year 1505. Loredano was made doge in 1501 and died in 1521.

Giovanni has studied most carefully all the details of the doge's face: the wrinkles in his cheeks and forehead, the loose skin about his chin and neck, and the sunken sockets of his eyes are quite as realistically portrayed as could have been done by the Van Eycks. But one forgets the details in admiration of the total effect. The serenity of Giovanni's spirit that he imparted to his Madonnas rests also on the face of the Venetian ruler. What a contrast this makes with Gentile's portrait of the cruel, sensuous, pallid-faced sultan (no. 905)! Giovanni has interpreted Loredano as a man who would inspire love and veneration. The golden glow of Giovanni's mature art softens the face and gives an ivory tone to the white costume. It is remarkable that a picture so rich in color can produce an effect so sculptural. It is as solidly modeled as a marble bust (cf. no. 657).

915

Bellini, Giovanni (c. 1430-1516), and Titian (1477-1576)

Feast of the Gods (1514)

Oil on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 8½ in.

Philadelphia, Widener Collection

Such pictures as the St. Francis in a Landscape (no. 909) and the Religious Allegory (no. 910) show that Giovanni Bellini was a man of the Renaissance, truly classical in spirit. Even his Madonnas (nos. 911-913) have a fascinating, idyllic expression befitting a Greek deity. Finally, at the end of his life, he produced a logical expression of this classical spirit in a classical subject. The Feast of the Gods, in the Widener collection, is one of the best authenticated of Bellini's paintings. Documents permit some disagreement as to his exact share in the execution of the picture, but the appearance of the work itself pretty definitely settles that point. The figures are Bellini's and the landscape is Titian's.

Vasari gives the story of the work: "In the year 1514 Duke Alfonso of Ferrara had caused a little chamber to be decorated and had commissioned Dosso, the painter of Ferrara, to execute in certain compartments stories of Aeneas, Mars, and Venus, and in a grotto Vulcan with two smiths at the forges; and he desired that there should also be there pictures by the hand of Gian Bellini. Bellini painted on another wall a vat of red wine with some Bacchanals around it, and satyrs, musicians, and other men and women, all drunk with wine, and near them a nude and very beautiful Silenus, riding on his ass, with figures about him that have their hands full of fruits and grapes; which work was in truth executed and colored with great diligence, insomuch that it is one of the most beautiful pictures that Gian Bellini ever painted, although in the manner of the draperies there is a certain sharpness after the German manner (nothing, indeed, of any account), because he imitated a picture by the Fleming (sic) Albrecht Dürer, which had been brought in those days to Venice and placed in the Church of S. Bartolommeo, a rare work and full of most beautiful figures painted in oils. On that vat Gian Bellini wrote these words: JOANNES BELLINVS VENETVS, P. 1514. That work he was not able to finish completely because he was old, and Tiziano, as the most excellent of all the others, was sent for to the end that he might finish it; wherefore, being desirous to acquire excellence and to make himself known, he executed with much diligence two scenes that were wanted in that little chamber."

The setting of the picture, for which we must give Titian credit, is a North Italian landscape in the region of Titian's birthplace. On a rocky cliff we catch a glimpse of the castle of Cadore. This background is a natural outgrowth of the style of landscape with which we have become familiar in Bellini's pictures (nos. 909, 910). The obvious difference is that Titian's is richer, more luxuriant, and, altogether, more theatrical. There are large rolling clouds, through which the sun shoots to bring out here and there the edge of a crag or the top of a tree; there are deep shadows to contrast with the high lights; and there is the densest growth of foliage. The contrast between Bellini's quiet, sensitive landscapes and Titian's more imposing, luxuriant conceptions of nature is comparable to the contrast between Bellini's slender, graceful female figures (nos. 910, 913) and Titian's more mature, voluptuous types (nos. 929, 933-935).

The Bacchus and Ariadne in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 934) gives an idea of how Titian might have treated the figures in the Feast of the Gods, which Bellini has, characteristically, handled with moderation. The term orgy that has been applied to the scene is inappropriate. The figures are too quiet and dreamy for that. The spirit that animates the group is that of a hymn to the god of wine. In spite of some sensual suggestions the celebration seems more spiritual than physical. Some of the figures, one of the two standing goddesses at the right, for example, are beautiful classical types. The lovely goddess that looks back at a satyr while she holds out a fine, large Majolica bowl finds reminiscences frequently in the works of Titian. Clearly recognizable deities are Mercury with his caduceus and Jupiter with his eagle.

916

Carpaccio, Vittore (c. 1440-1522)

St. Ursula and the Prince (1495)

Oil on Canvas. H. 9 ft.

Venice, Academy

Vittore Carpaccio was not a product of the Vivarini school nor of the school of Jacopo Bellini. His master was Lazzaro Bastiani, the chief representative of a less conspicuous school that had its origin in the early Venetian painters of Byzantine style and was not a little influenced by Jacopo Bellini. Carpaccio was related to Gentile Bellini in the sense that he was a chronicler of the age in which he lived. But the two artists looked at their age through very different eyes. Gentile was scientific and exact. He aspired to a truthful delineation of what he saw. The piazza of S. Marco (no. 907) was good enough for him. To give the richness of the mosaics of St. Mark's and the spaciousness and golden atmosphere of the piazza he employed all his ingenuity. He did not find the uniform costume of the confraternities irksome; it was enough for him to reproduce the sense of movement in the procession, amusing himself by the way with studies of personal idiosyncrasies of members of the procession. Carpaccio was less scientific. One feels that his charming effects of spaciousness and his fascinating play of light and shade, are more the result of his aesthetic sense than of scientific training. He was like a musician who plays by ear. The richness and beauty of everyday Venice were not enough for him. He thought to make his backgrounds more interesting by exotic architecture, and the life he represented always has a festive, holiday air. His interest in facial expression and character study was exceeded by his interest in rich, gorgeous costume and other accessories. The naïve, fairy-tale character of his art suggests comparison with the Florentine Benozzo Gozzoli (no. 783), though the stately forms and their slow, measured movement are more closely paralleled in the works of Ghirlandaio (cf. nos. 814, 815). Perhaps Pinturicchio (no. 842) is, on the whole, most closely akin to Carpaccio.

Carpaccio's first important work was a series of frescoes from the legend of St. Ursula, which he painted between the years 1490 and 1496 for the confraternity dedicated to that saint, the Scuola di S. Orsola, in Venice. The chapel for which Carpaccio's canvases were painted was built in the early fourteenth century. Alterations of the building in the middle of the seventeenth century cut away about six inches from the top of each of the paintings; a century later they were considerably restored; and in 1810 the scuola was suppressed. Since then the paintings have been removed and the building

destroyed. From old drawings and records we can get an idea of the appearance of the chapel and the arrangement of Carpaccio's decorations. There was one painting on each end wall, three on one of the side walls, and four on the other.

The legend of St. Ursula, which is related in Carpaccio's compositions, has come down to us in a variety of versions. The cult originated in Cologne, where, we are told, eleven thousand Christian virgins led by the holy Ursula and twenty thousand Christian men led by Conon were massacred by the Germans in the year 385. The legend has been given a slightly different turn by the merging with it of the incident of the massacre of a great multitude of the citizens of Cologne during an invasion of the Huns in 451. According to all the variants of the legend, Ursula was the daughter of the Cornish king. To this king there came ambassadors from the Anglian king requesting the hand of Ursula for his son. Ursula and her father gave their consent on condition that Conon, as the Anglian prince is called in some of the versions, should be baptized and that Ursula should be given time before her marriage to make a long journey in company with eleven thousand virgins. These conditions were accepted and the great company of virgins embarked. Compelled by a storm to land at Cologne, Ursula was visited in her sleep by an angel that commanded her to go to Rome and then return to Cologne and receive the palm of martyrdom. Carpaccio varies from all versions of the legend by having Conon and his following accompany Ursula to the Holy City. After stopping at Mayence and Basle, the company proceeded to Rome, where Pope Cyriacus made them welcome, afterwards accompanying them on the return trip to Cologne. At Cologne the martyrdom of all was accomplished at the hands of the Huns, Ursula refusing to be turned aside at the last by offers of the prince of the Huns, who had been touched by her beauty.

The purity and faith of the holy Ursula and her companions had appealed to Memling (no. 531); Carpaccio was attracted by the opportunity for rich material display. The composition which originally covered the entire west wall of the chapel, with scenes attendant upon the departure of the betrothed pair, discloses a wide harbor view with all the inhabitants of the city in holiday attire turned out to watch the ceremonies or participate with trumpet and drum. The principal scenes take place on a bridge that stretches across the foreground. At the left the Anglian king, followed by his major-domo and other prominent officials, receives the adieus of his fair-haired son. To the right Ursula, appropriately accompanied by a matron, meets for the first time the prince whom she has promised to marry, and still further to the right the betrothed pair bid farewell to Ursula's royal parents, admonished by the father and wept by the mother. As actors change their costumes for the different scenes of a play, so Conon appears here in three different costumes and Ursula wears now an elaborate puff-sleeved gown of contemporary Venetian mode, now a court robe of heavy brocade. Richly colored Oriental rugs are hung over the parapets wherever opportunity offers. Such notes of display were not inventions of the artist. They are a common sight in Venetian painting (cf. Crivelli, no. 899), because they were a common sight in Venetian life.

A number of the figures in this composition are probably portraits. The youth sitting on the parapet near the standard and holding an inscribed scroll is probably Antonio Loredan, eldest son of Nicolo Loredan, whose initials are included in the inscription and who is to be recognized, presumably, in the elderly man a little further to the left. Amplified, the inscription would read: Nicolaus Lauretanus donum dedit ViVens gloria Virgini Inclytæ. Very likely, the group of men at the lower left are members of the confraternity of St. Ursula.

The Oriental types of buildings in the background of this and other pictures by Carpaccio led some critics to assume that Carpaccio had visited the Orient until it was recognized that he had taken the buildings, and some figures besides, from Reuwich's woodcuts in Breydenbach's book on pilgrimages in the Holy Land, first published in 1486. The two large towers at the left in our picture are the Tour de Naillac at Rhodes and the Tower of St. Mark at Candia.

One of many instances of Carpaccio's predilection for varied detail is the episode of the repairing of a large ship tipped on its side in the harbor. In the background at the right the betrothed pair and their following are embarking; row boats carry them to the large ships that lie out in the deeper water. But in spite of all the carefully drawn detail throughout the picture, there is proper subordination to the main parts of the composition, to which

the eye is always led back. The canvas, though representing one of the earlier episodes in the story of St. Ursula, was one of the last in the series painted by Carpaccio. It is dated in the inscription fastened to the base of the standard: VICTORIS CARPATIO VENETI OPVS MCCCCLXXXV.

917

Carpaccio, Vittore (c. 1440-1522)

St. Ursula's Dream (1495)

Oil on Canvas. H. 9 ft.

Venice, Academy

Most loved of the scenes in Carpaccio's St. Ursula cycle is the one representing the angel appearing to the saint as she sleeps. Originally this picture was part of a diptych, the two parts of which were separated by a gilded strip. The other division of the diptych represented St. Ursula's arrival in Rome, whither the angel had directed her to go; it thus served as a sequel to the scene of the apparition of the angel, a pictorial representation of the angel's message in regard to the journey to Rome, as the palm carried by the angel serves to indicate the angel's annunciation of the saint's martyrdom. The main points in the story Carpaccio has set forth clearly; in the minor details he has felt free to use his own invention. The legend tells us that fourth century Cologne was the scene of this apparition, but Carpaccio has shown the saint in a fifteenth century Venetian bedroom, with the soft moonlight of the Venetian lagoons flooding the room through the open door. The elaborately carved and inlaid bed, the bright covers and rug, the beautiful doorway, the little candle-lit shrine on the wall and the holy water vessel suspended from it, the finely wrought chair and cupboard, all these and many other details are drawn with such precision and such a sense of reality and intimacy that one feels as if one had actually been in this room. Carpaccio has suggested the romantic phase of the betrothal that ended in martyrdom by the two potted plants in the windows, the myrtle, which was used in nuptial chaplets, and the carnation, which, in the language of flowers, carried the message, "I love you."

The angel wears a dress of contemporary Venetian fashion; but that it may not be so conspicuous as to disturb the quiet scene the angel's stature is made somewhat smaller than that of the saint. Ursula's serious face, resting against her hand, shows that she heeds the message.

This picture, like the scene of the Departure (no. 916), is dated 1495. The inscription at the foot of the bed reads: VICT. CARP. F. 1495; to this a restorer has added his own signature: Cortesius R. 1752. The picture has been much damaged through restoration and cutting down; it not only has been cut off at the top, like all the other canvases in the series, but has been trimmed also at both sides.

918

Carpaccio, Vittore (c. 1440-1522)

St. George and the Dragon (1505?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft., 7½ in.

Venice, Scuola degli Schiavoni

From about 1502 to 1507 Carpaccio was employed in decorating the Albergo, or Upper Chamber, of another scuola, that of the Dalmatians, or Sclavonians, in Venice. There he painted, besides scenes from the legends of St. George and Tryphonius, patron saints of the scuola, some scenes from the life of St. Jerome, the Calling of Matthew, and Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. After half a century all these pictures were removed to their present location in the oratory of the new Scuola degli Schiavoni.

The best known picture in the series represents the encounter of St. George and the Dragon, always a popular subject in Christian art because of

its romantic character. A more sophisticated artist, if his patronage allowed, might prefer the original subject from which this episode of the St. George legend is derived. Thus the strange Piero di Cosimo delighted in the classic myth of Perseus and Andromeda, of which the story of St. George and the Dragon is an adaptation, even to the detail of the crowd of distant spectators. For the more naive, romantic Carpaccio the Christian version of the myth was better adapted because of the coloring added by mediaeval chivalry. St. George is the typical knight who rescues the fair lady from her monstrous captor. The legend relates how the saint, passing through Lybia, encountered the princess, who had been offered up as a sacrifice to the dragon. He heroically slew the dragon and accomplished thereby not only the release of the virgin but the conversion to Christianity of all the people of the city.

Carpaccio's saint, clad in shining armor and mounted on a richly caparisoned, spirited steed, has all the charm of the hero of a fairy tale. He has come just in time, for the dragon is ready to spring upon the helpless princess. The ground is strewn with the mutilated bodies of previous victims, among which toads and a variety of reptiles seek to share the monster's pleasures. These skeletons and torn bodies are depicted with all the minutiae of an ogre tale, or an adventure of Baron von Munchhausen, but also with the same exaggeration and emphasis upon the supernatural that insures against repulsive effects.

Hardly less fantastic than the dragon is the character of the background, the "natural" bridge at the right, and the collection of Oriental buildings at the left. These buildings are probably adapted from some designs comparable to the Reuwich woodcuts, that were sometimes Carpaccio's source (cf. no. 916). The city gateway, flanked by round towers, is derived from some old representation of the gateway of Cairo. The people of the city are gathered on the balconies of the towers to watch the fate of their princess.

If the date of the work and the artist's signature were once on the cartouche at the bottom of the picture they have been completely effaced. Even without them, however, the date can be fixed at about 1505.

Closely related stylistically to our picture is Carpaccio's splendid painting of the Meditation on the Passion in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, a beautifully preserved work and a marvel of precise drawing and rich coloring. The armored St. George suggests comparison with Mr. Kahn's fine picture of St. Eustace in a Landscape. St. Eustace, clad in shining armor, stands in the midst of delicately drawn plants and flowers, and a mounted knight and a ruined castle in the background add to the suggestions of mediaeval chivalry.

919

Carpaccio, Vittore (c. 1440-1522)

Presentation in the Temple (1510)

Oil on Canvas. H. 13 ft., 6 in.

Venice, Academy

Though Carpaccio is known primarily as a painter of narrative scenes, he could rival even Giovanni Bellini when called upon to paint an altarpiece. An excellent opportunity to compare the two masters in this field was at one time afforded in the church of S. Giobbe, Venice, for which each painted an altarpiece (both pictures are now in the Academy at Venice). For our purpose, the altarpiece that Bellini painted for the church of S. Zaccaria (no. 913) is a good example to consider in connection with Carpaccio's work for S. Giobbe. This altarpiece by Bellini, painted five years earlier than Carpaccio's was certainly a source of strong inspiration for the latter. The subjects are not the same, but there are similarities in general composition and in the pose and types of figures. The scenes are set in apses of similar design, though Carpaccio's composition is more closely confined, in this respect more like Bellini's Frari altarpiece (no. 912). The head of the youthful Virgin in Carpaccio's Presentation is not unrelated to the flower-like conception in the S. Zaccaria composition; the venerable Simeon resembles Zacharias; the musical angel at the right side of the later work

is almost a repetition in reverse of the musical angel in the earlier picture, and it is easy to find other parallels. The difference is that Carpaccio's work is more matter-of-fact, more narrative than Bellini's. Bellini's figures may represent the Madonna and saints, but his real subject is Meditation. Carpaccio's real subject is the dedication of the Christ Child in the Temple. The figures are interested in the event: Simeon is filled with reverence in the face of his holy task; the Child timidly cringes to His mother; St. Anne and her companion, bearing the offering of doves, watch the Virgin and Child; the Levites, who hold the ends of the high priest's richly embroidered gold and purple dalmatic, are all attention; and the three little musicians sitting on the steps are engrossed in their business of making music for the occasion.

920

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510)

Ordeal of Moses (c. 1495)

Oil on Wood. H. 2 ft., 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Florence, Uffizi

Formerly there hung in the Medici residence of Poggio Imperiale Bellini's Religious Allegory (no. 910) and Giorgione's two little panels representing the Judgment of Solomon and the Ordeal of Moses. The three pictures must originally have had some connection. Certainly Bellini's, painted about five years earlier than Giorgione's, exerted a strong influence upon the latter. A loose, free grouping or, rather, scattering of a number of small figures over the foreground characterizes all three compositions, as does also the setting of the scene in a wide, peaceful landscape.

The Ordeal of Moses is much the finer of Giorgione's two panels. This is partly due to the drastic restorations that the Judgment of Solomon has undergone, partly, probably, to the artist's inequality, and partly to a difference in date of execution. The Judgment of Solomon must certainly be the earlier of the two. The figures are stiffer and more awkward, the costumes much less varied, and the landscape less pleasing. Then, too, the composition of the Judgment of Solomon does not presuppose a pendant, as does the Ordeal of Moses. The latter was clearly painted later to hang beside the Judgment of Solomon. It would seem as if the patron had desired a picture that would be a pendant in subject matter as well as in composition. The problem was to find a judgment scene in which a baby should be the center of interest and an enthroned ruler should be the judge. The choice fell upon an unfamiliar legend from the Talmud, and Giorgione portrayed an episode for which, so far as we know, he had no precedent in representative art. According to the legend, the infant Moses, when first brought into the presence of Pharaoh, reached for the jeweled crown. This was taken as an ill omen and to determine whether it would be safe to let the child live, Pharaoh had two dishes prepared, one containing gold coins, the other coals of fire. The baby Moses, attracted by the dancing flames, ignored the coins and reached for the coals. Accordingly, it was judged that Moses would be no menace to Pharaoh's throne. His burning his fingers with the coals was interpreted, rather, as an indication that he would meet a tragic fate.

Giorgione has told the story clearly and simply. But far more important than the story are the harmony of colors and the expression of mood. The dreamy, rapt expressions of the people who are gathered about the throne but give little heed to the trial that is in progress, are in perfect harmony with the landscape background, where one could dream one's life away. The dramatic feeling in Titian's background of Bellini's Feast of the Gods (no. 915) is lacking here, though the subject has much dramatic possibility. Even this very early work - the date is not known, but most critics place it about 1495 - is characterized by the lyric mood that dominates the work of Giorgione's short period of activity. Perhaps if he had lived to Titian's ripe old age he would have varied his mood, would have painted also the sorrows and tragedies of life. As it is, he has left us only the joyous dreams of youth. If one feels a touch of sadness in his work, it is the pleasant sadness of adolescence. When, as rarely, he represented a tragic subject, he emphasized as little as possible the tragic aspect. Thus in the panel of Christ Bearing the Cross in the Gardner Museum, a work attributed by some to our master, it is the noble character of Christ that is emphasized, not his suffering.

The types of figures in the Ordeal of Moses betray the influence of the young Carpaccio, who was painting his St. Ursula cycle (nos. 916, 917) at this time. Some of the poses suggest Perugino; and the interest in Oriental costume was probably inspired by Gentile Bellini (cf. nos. 905, 906). Giorgione's preference for mythological subjects (contemporary writers mention a number that he represented) is forecast by the bas relief on Pharaoh's throne.

921

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510)

The Three Philosophers (c. 1500)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

To the mediaeval artist painting was something to decorate a building or a book, and the subject matter was of a didactic or narrative nature. Giorgione marks the complete emancipation from that conception of painting. His works are not dependent upon their environment. A painting like the Three Philosophers could be hung anywhere and still carry its message. It is dependent upon the inspiration of neither surrounding architecture nor accompanying text. Its mood is wholly within itself. The landscape background is an ideal setting for dreams and the figures never have much narrative significance in Giorgione's pictures, whatever the subject may be; they are the symbols of moods as musical characters are the symbols of sounds.

The picture that we have labeled the Three Philosophers has been variously named: the Chaldean Sages, it has sometimes been called, the Three Ages, and Evander and his son Pallas showing Aeneas (in Oriental costume) the site of the future capitol. The Three Philosophers is as good a name as any, for clearly the purpose of the figures is to personify thought and meditation. The composition is beautifully composed, with the three figures in rich costumes against a mass of trees that balances the great moss-grown rock at the left; and then the eye wanders out over a peaceful, distant landscape. As always in Venetian paintings, we need the coloring, the varied hues of costumes, the greens, blues, and browns of the landscape, and the soft golden glow enveloping all. It is the glow of sunset; evening light spreads like a veil over the valley, bringing rest from labor and time for thought and dreams.

A record of 1525 tells us that the Three Philosophers was at that time in the house of Taddeo Contarini at Venice and that it was finished by Sebastiano del Piombo. Possibly he did finish it, though it is unusual for a master's early work, as this undoubtedly is, to be left to another hand to finish. In any case, we are fortunate in having so early an ascription of the picture to Giorgione. Giorgione inspired such a following that it is difficult to distinguish his own work from that of others working in his style. Most of the paintings that used to go under his name are now attributed to others and only a half dozen or so are left to him by the consensus of opinion.

922

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510) and Titian (?) (1477-1576)

The Tempest (c. 1500?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 2 ft., 9 in.

Venice, Giovanelli Collection

Another picture the ascription of which to Giorgione has never been questioned is the canvas in the Giovanelli collection which was described in 1530 as "The stormy landscape, with the soldier and the gipsy." As in the case of the Three Philosophers, a number of labels have been proposed for this picture. Some interpret it as a version of a story in the Thebaid of Statius, according to which King Adrastus, while searching in a wood for a spring from which he could get water for himself and his troops, came upon Queen Hypsipyle, who had been driven from Lemnos and had entered the service of the king of

Nemea as a nurse. Others have called it the Family of Giorgione or simply the Family. And again the question is of little significance; the dreamy mood and the harmony of colors are the important characteristics. There is a slight suggestion that the man is guarding the woman and child, but that is not insisted upon. The figures need no excuse for being here. Their beauty of design and color and their inspiration to dreams are reasons enough for their existence.

The picture shows how our master of harmony attained his ends through contrasts. The nude woman and child at the right are played against the fully draped man at the left; the woman is seated, and horizontal lines dominate in her figure, while the man stands, and vertical lines dominate; on the right, plant and tree forms are broad and dense, on the left, they are tall and sparse; in the background dark clouds contrast with golden light on the meadow; and everywhere there are contrasts of warm and cool colors.

Surprising features of the picture are the marvelous play of light over the distant landscape that we see out through the middle of the picture and the great clouds rolling up in the sky, cut by a flash of lightning. No other picture by Giorgione has this dramatic element. We think at once of Titian's background for Giovanni Bellini's Feast of the Gods (no. 915). Probably the Tempest also is a collaboration. We know that Titian was closely associated with Giorgione; they worked together on a large fresco commission; and Titian painted the whole background for Giorgione's Venus (no. 924). In the Tempest the clumps of trees in the foreground are somewhat stiff, as in Giorgione's little panel in the Uffizi (no. 920). But the view that opens out in the middle, with the delicate trees, rifts of sunlight playing over buildings, meadows, and trees, and the stormy sky, is characteristic of Titian, a more efficient master of landscape than Giorgione, though he does not express the same lyric mood. Close examination shows that the technique of this part of the landscape, too, is characteristic of Titian rather than of Giorgione.

923

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510)

Madonna with Sts. Liberalis and Francis (1504)

Oil on Wood. H. 7 ft., 6 in.

Castelfranco Veneto, Cathedral

In 1504 the young Matteo Costanzo, Giorgione's fellow townsman, was killed in battle. Tradition has it that it was in memory of this youth that the Costanzo family, whose coat of arms decorates the base of the throne in our picture, commissioned Giorgione to paint an altarpiece for their family chapel at Castelfranco. Some have even thought to trace a likeness between the armored saint of the Castelfranco altarpiece and the relief of a knight on a sarcophagus at Castelfranco which is designated as the tomb of the Costanzo youth. At any rate, 1504 is approximately the date of the picture, which was of epoch-making significance in Venetian art.

The Castelfranco altarpiece was epoch-making technically. By the time he painted it, Giorgione had found that he could abandon tempera completely and carry out his entire work in oil. Giovanni Bellini had earlier laid out his pictures in tempera and then worked over them with oil glazes. The use of oil for the whole process made yet richer effects possible and allowed yet more flexibility of execution. This improved method was immediately adopted by Giorgione's contemporaries, and Giovanni Bellini may deserve as much credit as Giorgione for its introduction (see no. 913).

The Castelfranco altarpiece was epoch-making in conception. An apse-shaped niche or chapel had been the favorite setting for the Madonna in the Venetian altarpiece. The subject had been treated ceremonially, the Virgin represented as enthroned in the church. Giorgione has treated the subject in a much more personal way. His Madonna is not to be reached through church ceremonies but, like the spirit of nature, through personal communion. In a sense, he has conceived her as the spirit of nature. He has taken her out of the confining church architecture and placed her against the limitless background of nature, raised high on a throne, the back of which rises with

an accentuation of vertical lines that suggests its extension into the heavens, to the very throne of God; the picture frame cuts across it, leaving it incomplete. The throne has no steps, as commonly, thus adding to the suggestion of her connection with heaven and her inaccessibility to man save through prayer.

The dreamy meditation of Giovanni Bellini's figures (cf. no. 910) is intensified by Giorgione. Each of the four figures in the picture seems quite unconscious of the others. The Virgin's eyes are cast down toward us, but they look inward upon her own meditation. The Child is absorbed in toying with the mother's hand, but as an abstract object, not as a part of His mother, and His absorption is dreamy rather than playful. The saints, who, in a physical sense, seem to be placed as guards at the base of the throne, are likewise rapt in meditation. The figures are not related through any consciousness of each other, but only through an identity of mood.

St. Francis, at the right, is a traditional type; he was probably borrowed from one of Bellini's altarpieces. But St. Liberalis is a more original conception of the young armored saint. It is not the romance of his physical adventures that is suggested, but the dimly seen dreams of his thought life. A small sketch, apparently a study for this saint, is in the National Gallery, London. The crestfallen appearance of the figure, the drooping head, and tired pose, as well as the somewhat tarnished, worn condition of the armor, suggest that the sketch was made from a model wearied by the weight of real armor. St. Liberalis in the altarpiece is a fresh creation by Giorgione after he had studied the detailed problems from life. The model is never apparent in Giorgione's finished pictures; above truth to nature he valued beauty.

The Castelfranco altarpiece has been badly damaged by much cleaning and restoration, but it still remains one of the glories of Venetian art.

924

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510) and Titian (1477-1576)

Venus (c. 1505)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Dresden, Gallery

Giorgione's deviation from his model for the sake of aesthetic effect, that we noted in the case of St. Liberalis in the Castelfranco altarpiece (no. 923), is even more evident in his famous Venus. One could find fault anatomically with nearly every part of this body; even the right foot, which would certainly be partially visible with such a pose, has been omitted. The cost of accuracy in such details is made very evident by a comparison of Giorgione's Venus with Titian's adaptation of it (no. 936). Splendid as is Titian's picture, the highest aesthetic value of Giorgione's has been lost. Those long, flowing lines that in Giorgione's figure follow round the complete contour without a break are paralleled only in the rise and fall of soft music. The crinkled drapery acts as a foil to the flowing lines of the body, while the low hills beyond echo those gentle curves. Even without the records, which are clear enough on the point, the landscape would easily be recognized as largely the work of Titian. Titian finished, too, a little cupid which, before it was obliterated in a repainting, was at the right side of the picture.

Like Praxiteles' Cnidian Venus (no. 130) in sculpture, Giorgione's Venus in painting inspired an endless series of imitations. And the relation of the imitations to the original was much the same in the two cases. The tendency was away from the ideality, nobility, and purity of Praxiteles and Giorgione toward a more realistic, more sensual expression. Giorgione's Venus is unconscious of her nudity; she is lost in gentle sleep. Her lovely form seems made for this intimate association with nature; she is a part of nature, as her sleep is like the quiet of a woodland dell.

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510)

Pastoral Symphony (c. 1510? Repainted Later)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 7½ in.

Paris, Louvre

To the unimaginative mind the grand opera may seem false because people do not in real life go about singing their thoughts to one another. The same type of critic would object to Giorgione's Venus because a nude woman sleeping in a landscape is not a common sight; and he would find the nude forms in the Tempest (no. 922) and the Louvre Pastoral Symphony also out of place. But only a very literal, prosaic person could feel such a criticism. Giorgione could make free use of the poetic, or, more accurately expressed, pictorial, license and obtain results that seem entirely plausible. Certainly the scene that he has represented in the Louvre picture is unthinkable in real life. But he had no intention of painting real physical life; he has painted a mood, a state of mind, and the figures, the trees, the blades of grass are only the means of expressing that mood as tones make up a piece of music; and we accept these means as we accept the artificial devices of the opera.

A variety of interpretations has been given to the figures. The interpretations are diverting, and it is even possible that the painter had one of them in mind. The lingering dreams that come at eventide are felt throughout the picture. The youths, one a refined nobleman, the other a rustic shepherd boy, seem to listen to a note that has just sounded on the lute. The seated woman still hears the music that a moment ago came from her flute. And the lovely woman by the well enjoys the tinkling sounds of the water she has been pouring. As always in Giorgione's pictures, it is a moment of suspense, which it seems possible to protract indefinitely. The figures do not seem about to move and to return from their dreams to conversation and activity. And we have no fear of coming night winds or winter's chill; it will be the sunset hour and summer forever, and peace and quiet will always reign over this beautiful scene with its shady trees, picturesque houses, and contented shepherd and flock.

The trend of Venetian art toward luxurious, mature types is seen in the work of Giorgione himself. The delicate forms of the Tempest and the Venus have become heavier in the Pastoral Symphony; there is less emphasis on ideal beauty and more on physical, sensuous beauty. But the composition is unsurpassed for its charm of flowing lines and balanced masses and colors.

This picture has not the universal acceptance as a Giorgione that the others we have discussed enjoy. Whether or not it is by his own hand it possesses fully that lyric quality which we term Giorgionism.

Giorgione (c. 1477-1510) and Titian (1477-1576)

The Concert (c. 1510)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6½ in.

Florence, Pitti

Another painting the authorship of which is much disputed is the Concert in the Pitti Gallery. There are three divisions of opinion: the picture is a mature work by Giorgione, or it is an early work by Titian, or it is a collaboration of the two. The spirit is thoroughly Giorgionesque: the suspension of physical activity, the rapt, dreamy expression are characteristic of Giorgione's paintings (cf. nos. 920-925). And the two figures at the sides, in spite of their rubbed and much restored condition, still seem like the work of Giorgione, modeled with his gently flowing surfaces. But the hands and face of the middle figure are modeled with an emphasis upon the bony structure and with a rapid, brilliant brush stroke that we associate with Titian rather than with Giorgione. Further, this middle figure bears striking similarity to the Man

with the Glove in the Louvre (no. 930), an early work by Titian. It is thus reasonable to look upon our painting as the joint production of Giorgione and Titian, who are known to have collaborated on other works (cf. no. 924).

The Concert is well named, for a more potent pictorial expression of music is inconceivable. The dominating figure, the young man in the black, fur-trimmed cloak, sits at a harpischord. He has just struck the last notes of the composition. Still wholly absorbed in the music, he turns his head toward the man with a lute, who, likewise lost in the dying notes, mechanically lays his hand on the player's shoulder. The composition seems complete with these two figures, and it is not wholly unreasonable to consider the third figure a later addition. Yet this young man, with his picturesque costume and long hair, seems like the brother of the Madonna of Castelfranco (no. 923). Contrasting costumes are not at all unusual in Giorgione's paintings. The unifying force in this, as in all our master's works, is the identity of mood. It is the utter absorption in the music that forms the sympathetic bond between these three figures.

The composition of the Concert has been marred by the addition of a strip of canvas at the top. The picture originally ended at the top of the youth's hat.

927

Titian (1477-1576)

Madonna with the Cherries (c. 1515)

Oil on Canvas Transferred to Wood. H. 2 ft., 8 in.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Compared with Giorgione, Titian appears as a very prolific artist. Yet from the years before Giorgione's death (Giorgione and Titian were probably born in the same year) we have fewer paintings by Titian than by Giorgione. It must be that in those years Titian was painting partly in the manner of Giorgione's less mature work, partly in the manner of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. But the earliest certain works preserved to us show a development of Giorgione's mature style.

In some respects the Madonna of the Cherries harks back to Giovanni Bellini. The composition is derived from that master's half-length Madonnas (cf. no. 911), and the two male saints are so reminiscent of Bellini (cf. no. 912) as to suggest that they might have been painted early, when Titian was dominated by Bellini's influence, while the thoroughly Titianesque Madonna and Child and St. John were painted in later. As a matter of fact, the opposite sequence was established by an examination of the painting when the picture was transferred from canvas to wood in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was found that the picture had originally contained only the Virgin and Child and little St. John, with the Virgin in a different pose, and that Sts. Joseph and Zacharias were added later when the Virgin was given her present pose. We must therefore explain the Bellinesque character of those saints as a conscious harking back to Bellini after Titian had developed his own style. Compared with Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna (no. 923), Titian's Madonna of the Cherries is more mature, more luxuriant, more materialistic. Though not so spiritual as Bellini's Madonnas, Titian's conception is dignified and fine. The motive of the Child offering the Madonna a taste of the cherries is charming, and the coloring is as if Bellini's golden glow had been shot through with a purple shimmer of reflections of precious jewels.

Titian (1477-1576)

Madonna with Three Saints (c. 1514)

Oil on Wood. H. 3 ft., 7½ in.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

The composition of the half-length group of the Madonna with Three Saints is more characteristic of Titian than is that of the Madonna of the Cherries, though the two pictures were painted almost contemporaneously. The arrangement of the Madonna at one side of the composition with her worshipers approaching from the opposite side is traditional; we think, for example, of the Adoration of the Magi by Gentile da Fabriano (no. 762), that Umbrian who had painted in Venice when Jacopo Bellini was a boy. But the intervening psychological interests in painting had substituted for that many-figures type of composition, fairy-like in its richness of costumes and multiplicity of accessories, a composition in which the figures are not only reduced in number but are even cut to half-lengths and are dressed in very simple, broad draperies that do not detract from the focuses of real interest, the heads.

Titian has expressed a sweet and intimate relationship between the mother and Child, who look at each other but seem not to be conscious of Sts. Stephen, Jerome, and Maurice. Only St. Stephen looks at the Virgin. It might almost be a christening scene in which St. Jerome reads the ceremony.

Titian sometimes repeated his compositions with but little variation. There is a replica of our picture in the Louvre, which, however, seems less serious and altogether less fine than the Vienna example, in spite of the extensive repainting of the latter.

Titian (1477-1576)

Sacred and Profane Love (c. 1514)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 6½ in.

Rome, Borghese

One of the most popular of Titian's paintings is the canvas in the Borghese commonly known as Sacred and Profane Love. Its popularity depends less upon the various stories that have been connected with the picture than upon the failure of those stories to explain it: the picture remains a mystery and fascinates us by its mystery of subject and of beauty as well. The theme is clearly amorous, for here are Venus and her son, Cupid. One explanation has it that Venus is persuading Medea to love Jason. But it is difficult to reconcile this gentle young woman with the cruel Medea who conspired for the murder of her brother that Jason might obtain the golden fleece. A more plausible explanation presupposes Titian's familiarity with Francesco Columna's Songe de Poliphile, which appeared at Venice in 1499 and was popular with Titian's contemporaries. In this we read of Poliphile and Polia coming to a basin which was kept filled by the water flowing from a sarcophagus which was said to be the tomb of Adonis, who was killed by jealous Mars, an episode represented on one side of that sarcophagus. Venus came to try to save her beloved Adonis, and Cupid caught some of Adonis' blood, which was put into the sarcophagus with the beautiful youth's ashes. The slaying of Adonis may well be the subject that Titian has represented in bas relief on the sarcophagus in his picture. This may be Mars striking Adonis with a sword while the nude Venus and a nymph come from the right. The horse probably belongs to the god of war. The Dream goes on to tell of the rites performed by Venus and her son at this sarcophagus, a ceremony at which it is possible to obtain the grace of the goddess. And again Titian's picture seems to follow the account: here are Venus and Cupid, who collects the precious blood of Adonis, the rosebush that scratched the limb of the goddess, the roses that turned purple. And here is a young woman for the love of whom some man might well need the grace of the goddess. One writer has pointed out a resemblance between this woman who listens half against her will to the soft words of the goddess and certain pictures that are said to represent Violante, daughter

of Titian's older friend, Palma Vecchio. Tradition has it that Titian loved this Violante and represented her in his Bacchanale in Madrid; we have a bust portrait of her by Palma and another possible representation of her in that artist's St. Barbara (no. 942). Sacred and Profane Love would then be an expression of the young Titian's own love, a possibility that is not excluded by the representation on the sarcophagus of the arms of Niccolo Aurelio, grand chancellor of Venice.

As in the case of Giorgione's pictures, the subject matter is of comparatively little significance for the aesthetic value of our composition. Sacred and Profane Love is as good a subject as any because it at least suggests contrast, and contrast is a basic characteristic of the picture: contrast of a nude body with one fully draped, contrast of soft persuasion with reluctance, contrast of pale, yielding flesh with crimson folds of crisp drapery; and contrast of clearly distinguished forms of the group in the foreground with the indistinct sketches of distant landscape. The binding force is that quiet, lyric mood that we associate primarily with Giorgione.

930

Titian (1477-1576)

The Man with the Glove (c. 1518)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 3½ in.

Paris, Louvre

Venice did not as we have noted in another connection (p. 121), produce universal geniuses of the type of Leonardo in Florence, where it was not at all exceptional for a painter to be also sculptor, architect, and engineer. Venetian painters were nearly always painters exclusively. Having learned to express themselves in the rich colors of this luxuriant city, they could not be tempted away from that medium. Yet within the field of painting itself Titian may be classed as a universal genius. In the course of his long period of activity he painted a great variety of subjects and ran the whole scale of human emotion.

As a portrait painter he set the standard for that great period of portraiture, the seventeenth century: he was Rubens' acknowledged model, Van Dyck continually strove after his style, and Velasquez found him a primary source of inspiration. Among the portraits painted in his earlier years that commonly designated as the Man with the Glove ranks as one of the finest, though it has unfortunately come down to us in a poor state of preservation. It has been plausibly suggested that this may be the portrait of Girolamo Adorno which is mentioned in an extant letter from Titian to Marquis Federico of Mantua as a gift which the artist was sending to the marquis, who had esteemed Adorno highly. This letter was written in 1527, four years after the death of Adorno; hence it is presumed that the portrait was in Titian's studio, perhaps still unfinished, at the time of Adorno's death and that Titian finally found this use for it. Girolamo Adorno was a cultured young man from an illustrious Genoese family and had served the Emperor Charles V in Venice.

Whether or not our portrait represents the young ambassaador, it is strongly characterized and beautifully painted. The dark costume and background serve as a foil to bring out the face and the hands; and there is just enough white at the edge of the sleeves and about the neck to accent the points of interest and to relate them to each other. The proud, noble bearing of the sitter is natural and unconscious. He looks steadily into the distance, but his attention is focused inwardly in a meditation comparable to the poetic expression of Giorgione's faces. His resemblance to the principal figure in the Concert (no. 926), which we believe to be a joint work by Titian and Giorgione, has already been noted.

The picture is signed on the stone beneath the sitter's left hand:
TICIANVS F.

Titian (1477-1576)

The Assumption (1518)

Oil on Wood. H. 22 ft., 6 in.

Venice, Church of the Frari

Titian's theatrical tendencies that we have had occasion to note in contrasting his style with Giorgione's in works of joint authorship early reached full expression in the Assumption, which was placed over the high altar of the church of the Frari May 19, 1518 (the commission had been given in 1516). The work was so unconventional that the monks were dissatisfied until Girolamo Adorno (cf. no. 930), ambassador of Charles V, offered to buy the picture of them.

Unlike the idyls of Giorgione, that are effective on any wall, Titian's great picture was painted with definite reference to its intended location. Much of its glory was lost when for a time it hung in the Academy; it is only in its position over the high altar, where lights from many angles play over it and where it is viewed from a distance, that it can speak its true message. As Giorgione made cabinet pictures popular, Titian may be credited with the innovation of scenic painting. A decorative quality is notable in the Sacred and Profane Love, painted broadly and somewhat sketchily. The Assumption is yet broader in treatment: large masses of contrasting colors are juxtaposed, and all the elements of the design are simple and clear.

At the bottom of the picture are the apostles gathered at the tomb of the Virgin. Suddenly the tomb is empty and they see her being borne heavenward by an angel host. She is just above them, but already in heaven, for the clouds have opened to receive her, and she appears in a bright yellow atmosphere that contrasts with the sky against which the apostles are silhouetted. Above her God the Father comes to welcome her, and His attendant angels bear the diadem with which she is to be crowned Queen of Heaven and the crown of thorns indicative of the relationship on which her glory is based. The clear distinction between heaven and earth, which are brought into such close juxtaposition, is remarkable, as is also the effect of limitless space that is obtained in spite of the fact that there is hardly any diminution in size in the upper figures: the Madonna and God the Father are, like the apostles, above life size. The boldness and daring of the design remind one of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (nos. 871-875), but it falls far short of that great decoration in sincerity and conviction.

Titian has dared quite as much in expression as in design. The apostles fall in prayer or reach out toward the Virgin in a spontaneous expression of glorification. The Virgin herself poises on the clouds, with arms and eyes raised toward God like one entranced. The circle of angels is a treasure of charming baby forms and poses.

With this picture Titian set the type for all representations of the Assumption. In color, gesticulation, and facial expression he could have gone no further without loss of dignity and significance. Murillo, of whom one naturally thinks in connection with the subject of the Assumption, shows the effect of forcing expression a little too far (cf. no. 1088). It was just two years after Titian's completion of the Assumption that Raphael died as he worked on the great Transfiguration (no. 868), in which there are features so reminiscent of Titian's composition that one wonders if Raphael did not borrow from it.

Titian (1477-1576)

Entombment (c. 1520)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft., 10½ in.

Paris, Louvre

The keynote of the Assumption is ecstatic glorification. The Entombment is an equally perfect expression of deep grief. Christ has been lowered from the cross, and Nicodemus (on the right) and Joseph of Arimathaea (on the left) are bearing the precious body to the tomb. Again a work by Raphael suggests itself for comparison, but this time with discredit to the Umbrian master. Both Raphael's Entombment (no. 852) and Titian's were indebted to Mantegna's engraving of the subject. Raphael's work is inferior to the model; Titian's surpasses it. Titian avoided the division of interests that tears Raphael's composition asunder. He did not emphasize the physical effort of the bearers of Christ's body, but rather the sense of loss felt by this whole group of mourners. The Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and St. John do not mourn alone; their grief is shared by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, who carry their Lord tenderly and look reverently and anxiously into His face as if searching still for some sign of life. They must bend close, for the face is hidden in shadow, which suggests the shadow of death and serves at the same time to conceal the physical marks of death and emphasize its mental significance.

It has been suggested that in Joseph of Arimathaea Titian has given us his own portrait, as he did again in the much later Entombment at Madrid (no. 940), where Joseph of Arimathaea is an old man, still gazing tenderly upon the face of the Master.

The dark landscape and clouded sky have no small share in the effectiveness of the picture; and one never gets the full message of Titian's pictures without the original color, deep and rich in the Entombment, like the depth and fullness of the disciples' grief.

The Entombment came from the Mantuan collections, and it is usually assumed that it was painted for Federico Gonzaga, for whom Titian is known to have worked. But, since Federico was little interested in religious themes, it may be that it was done instead for Federico's mother, Isabella d'Este, patroness of Titian and other great artists of the day.

Titian (1477-1576)

Madonna of the Pesaro Family (1519-1526)

Oil on Canvas. H. 16 ft., 1 in.

Venice, Church of the Frari

In the Assumption Titian expressed the ecstasy of Christian religion; in the Entombment he expressed its sorrow; in the Madonna of the Pesaro Family he expressed its serenity. This last picture was probably begun before the Entombment, for it was commissioned in 1519, though it seems not to have been finished till 1526, when the last payment for it was made to Titian. It was a votive offering placed by Jacopo Pesaro above the altar of one of the side aisles in the church of the Frari in gratitude for victory over the Turks. Jacopo Pesaro was titular bishop of Paphos. His indebtedness to Pope Alexander VI is indicated by the Borgia arms on the banner carried by St. George, and as papal legate it is fitting that Pesaro's intermediary at the throne of the Virgin should be St. Peter, founder of the papal see. Allusion to the victory over the Turks is introduced in the two Turkish prisoners whom the armored St. George leads forward. And reference to the church for which the picture was destined explains the presence beside the Virgin's throne of the two patron saints of the church of the Frari, Sts. Francis and Anthony of Padua. The cross that triumphed over the heathen Turk is carried by two little angels that float into the scene on a cloud bank. This small mass of clouds offers a good example of Titian's treatment of the supernatural in such natural fashion as to make us forget its unreality. These fleecy

clouds that come down with their angelic freight almost to the heads of the very realistic members of the Pesaro family catch the sunlight here and there and throw ever changing shadows on the polished granite columns.

In the group of figures, too, the divine is brought into intimate relationship with the earthly, yet retaining proper dignity and supremacy. The Virgin and Child, enframed by a pure white veil, are indicated as the focus of the picture by the bright sunlight falling upon their fair flesh and rich draperies. Contrasting with her smooth, idealized features is the realistic face of Jacopo Pesaro, toward whom she graciously bends. Opposite Jacopo, and like him kneeling in attitude of prayer, are other members of his family. All are shown in profile, their thoughts given to prayer, except the young boy who looks out at us. Their draperies are very rich in hue but low in value, which rises in steady crescendo till we reach the bright veil of the Virgin.

Very recently there has come to the attention of art historians a study in oil on canvas for this painting. It is in a private collection at L'Aja, and is of unusual interest in giving the final decision of the painter in nearly every detail but with a spontaneity and an enthusiasm that have not been completely retained in the carefully finished final painting.

934

Titian (1477-1576)

Bacchus and Ariadne (1523)

Oil on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 9 in.

London, National Gallery

Titian, we remember, painted the background of the Feast of the Gods (no. 915), which Giovanni Bellini had late in life executed for the duke of Ferrara. That background makes Bellini's picture more harmonious with the three pictures that Titian was commissioned to paint for the same series of decorations at Ferrara. The themes, too, are similar to that represented by Bellini: the gods and hybrid creatures of ancient mythology indulging in their care-free pleasures. The finest of Titian's three canvases in this series is a pictorial transcription of a poem by Catullus, which describes the arrival of Bacchus and his following on the shores of Naxos, where he surprised Ariadne and was overcome by her beauty. Titian has followed the Latin author closely in representing a satyr entwined with serpents, a maenad with cymbals, another with tambourine, and similar details. But none other than Titian could have painted such a version as this. It is the embodiment of joyous abandon.

Over the sea float the large, fleecy clouds of a summer's day, a day made for pleasure and languid dreams. Ariadne has been lying on soft folds of drapery spread out on the shore, an urn for her head rest, as we find that motive in one of the other pictures in the series. Suddenly she is startled by the tumult of the Bacchic train and just as it emerges from the wood she jumps up, drawing some garments over her nude form, and turns to run toward the sea. But her instinct to run is checked by the fascination of the beautiful Bacchus, who, full of youthful exuberance and drunk with wine, springs from his car toward the object of his desire, pointing at the same time back toward the wood as if inviting her to go with him into its cool, shady depths. His tiger team has halted, but his followers, so steeped in wine that they scarcely take notice of Ariadne and Bacchus, surge on past to the sound of music and laughter. The picture is a revel of gorgeous color, the sunshine playing over luxuriant silks and the soft flesh of nude bodies.

Titian's charming mixture of the real and the fanciful that we have noted elsewhere (cf. no. 933) is very effective here. The delicate woodland flowers, vines, and sprays of fern in the foreground are carefully drawn with a keen appreciation of nature. The little dog, a perfectly natural and familiar creature even to the silver collar on which one feels that the initials of the owner could surely be found, barks persistently at the heedless little faun, who trips gaily ahead dragging the calf's head, a memento of the feast back in the wood. The little episode seems so natural that one accepts it, goat legs and all.

There is no hidden meaning in the picture; everything is perfectly clear. That the principal characters may not possibly be mistaken, Titian has shown in the sky above Ariadne the crown of stars which was her bridal gift from the gods.

The signature, TICIANS F., is inscribed on the urn that lies on Ariadne's abandoned pallet.

A splendid portrait of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, for whom Titian painted his first two pictures in this series (the last, Bacchus and Ariadne, was painted for Alfonso's successor, Federico) is in the Metropolitan Museum. From it we can understand why "fiery" is the term so frequently applied to Titian's coloring. Here, where the costume is very dark, the red velvet shirt that shows in front glows more richly the longer we look at the picture, as smoldering coals seem to burn more brightly as night comes on.

935

Titian (1477-1576)

Portrait of a Woman (La Bella) (c. 1536)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 3¼ in.

Florence, Pitti

If one places side by side, in black and white reproduction, La Bella of Titian and one of Velasquez's portraits, as the Infanta Margarita (no. 1099), the relationship between the two is at first striking. Velasquez undoubtedly learned much from Titian about the portrayal of dignity, reserve, and royal bearing, as well as the representation of rich textiles. But La Bella is more open, more frank than the portraits by Velasquez, partly perhaps because she has far more natural beauty than Velasquez's royal sitters had. What they lacked in beauty they made up in haughtiness. Titian's purpose in this picture has been to represent rich, sensuous beauty for its own sake. And between the originals of the two portraits by Titian and Velasquez there is a great difference in color. Velasquez's is cool and silvery, tending toward neutral tones; Titian's is a luxuriant display of vivid blue and gold, with passages of purple to enhance the rich effect. Only the dark greenish background saves the picture from gaudiness. A gold chain follows the curves of the soft, full shoulders and half exposed breast; gold threads are embroidered in the blue and purple of the heavy silk dress; and golden gleams enliven the brown wavy hair where it catches the light.

The picture is much marred by restorations, but its sensuous charm is still potent. Attempts have been made to recognize the model. Some have thought the picture a portrait of the duchess of Urbino, others have thought it represents the daughter of Palma Vecchio (cf. no. 929). From a recently discovered letter dated May, 1536, it seems probable that Titian was not portraying any particular individual but was painting his ideal of beauty. In this letter Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, at whose order our picture was apparently painted (La Bella was acquired in Florence from the Della Rovere house in 1631), writes to his man of affairs at Venice: "Tell Titian . . . that we would like to have finished the portrait of the lady in blue, bella circa il tutto e con il timpano" (timpano means a veil for preserving the painting against strong light).

936

Titian (1477-1576)

Venus of Urbino (c. 1538)

Oil on Wood. H. 3 ft., 10½ in.

Florence, Uffizi

It is usually thought that the same model that posed for La Bella (no. 935) must have posed for the Venus of Urbino; and Eleanora Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino and daughter of Isabella d'Este, has usually been ascribed

the honor. To be sure, the duchess was past forty when Titian painted his picture, but there are other instances of his rejuvenating his models. However, there are good reasons for rejecting this identification, one being that when Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino, died his son Guidobaldo II made haste to get the picture, a hardly likely procedure had this nude woman been a portrait of his mother; further, Titian's portrait of Eleanora painted about this time portrays a sedate-looking woman who bears slight resemblance to the "Venus."

Undoubtedly Titian did use models, and probably the same one for both La Bella and the Venus of Urbino, but both pictures are idealized. The combination of the ideal and the real adds to their fascination. Giorgione's Venus (no. 924), from which Titian patterned this nude figure a quarter of a century after Giorgione's death, is almost wholly ideal. She is truly a goddess. But Titian's figure is more woman than goddess. She would not be comfortable lying out on the slope of a hill. Sophisticated and pampered, her proper place is in such a rich marble chamber as Titian has given her, resting on silken pillows, surrounded by velvet curtains and rich tapestries. Her nudity is not a natural condition; she has taken off her clothing consciously to display her beautiful form for our admiration; her waiting-maids are already searching in the chest for a rich costume, and in a short while she will surely stand before us as La Bella.

The right foot, that was not shown in Giorgione's Venus, is here partly visible, and, together with the rearrangement of the right arm, breaks up the flowing lines of the contour somewhat. All Titian's changes are toward the realistic, away from the ideal, for though his early pictures have a lyrical quality, he began to show his realistic, more literal tendency as soon as he had outlived Giorgione's influence.

937

Titian (1477-1576)

Presentation of the Virgin (1538)

Oil on Canvas. H. 11 ft., 4 in.

Venice, Academy

In the Presentation in the Temple, the largest picture Titian ever painted, we have a foretaste of what Venetian painting was to become in the hands of Titian's followers, such as Paolo Veronese, for whom religious subjects or any themes whatever were a pretext for the portrayal of spacious halls or courtyards filled with luxuriantly clad Venetians. Nearly all the large crowd of people in Titian's picture are mere bystanders, people who were passing by at this moment and stopped to look on at an unusual scene or to talk with one another. Yet the picture is unified and centralized; the very proximity of the crowd makes the tiny figure of the Virgin, alone on the steps, the more conspicuous. In her bright blue dress, that sparkles like a sapphire in the light of the aureole surrounding her, she comes sedately up the steps, at the top of which the high priest with his attendants has come out of the temple to receive her. Joachim turns to comfort Anna, who raises her hands in prayer, torn between joy at the consecration of the child of their old age and sorrow at the separation; for, according to the legend, Mary left her parents at an early age to serve the Lord in the Temple.

Like the general outlines of the composition and the effect of naïvete in the little Virgin, the introduction of the old market woman with her chickens and her basket of eggs was suggested to Titian's mind by Carpaccio's Presentation in the Temple. But this detail is in keeping with Titian's frequent introduction of homely details into his pictures, details that give an air of reality. In the same way, the marble torso at the right side of the picture puzzles one at first sight: one almost accepts it as an actual piece of marble set on the frame of the picture.

The painting has been quite hopelessly restored. The worst passage includes the women standing at the bottom of the steps; they look more like the work of Bougereau than of Titian. The heads of some of the Venetian senators, at the left, seem little injured, and the figure of the Virgin is practically untouched. Some of the old reproductions of the picture show unsightly patches

in the spaces now occupied by the doors that cut into the canvas. Whether doors cut the canvas thus originally has not been determined; Titian's treatment of the masonry of the temple steps seems to presuppose some opening on that side. Our photograph shows the painting again in the place for which it was originally designed, a room of the house originally occupied by the brotherhood of S. Maria della Carita, and now by the collections of the Academy of Fine Arts.

938

Titian (1477-1576)

Pope Paul III and His Nephews (1545)

Oil on Canvas. H. 6 ft., 7 in.

Naples, National Museum

In 1545 Titian was called to Rome to paint for the pope and was given a room in the Vatican palace. It was his first visit to Rome and he expressed regret that he had not gone sooner. But even at sixty-eight he was not too old to profit by what he saw. Perhaps the frescoes of Michelangelo, whose final work in the Sistine Chapel, the Last Judgment, had been finished only a few years earlier, contributed more than did the ancient art that Titian saw at Rome to the change that began at this time to come over his art. His absorbing interest in color began to be subordinated to his interest in psychological problems.

The portrait of Pope Paul III and his Nephews has a general silvery tone, with reds and browns kept far more neutral than Titian would have painted them at an earlier date; there is the beginning of that hazy, atmospheric treatment that characterizes the work of his late life.

The picture is not flattering. It is a record of Titian's insight into the family quarrels and tragedies at that time brewing for the pope and weighing him down in his old age. It is the discord between the pope and his nephew Ottavio Farnese that is pictured here. The latter's brother, Cardinal Alessandro, standing somewhat aloof, quietly erect and apparently serene, serves as a foil to the other two figures, between whom fiery passion threatens at any moment to break through the assumed reserve. Ottavio, hypocritical, flattering, bows low before the pope, who turns sharply toward him, his senile, ape-like face helpless, but his hand that grips his chair expressive of the fiery impatience that might yet give superhuman power to his feeble frame.

939

Titian (1477-1576)

Portrait of Charles V at Mühlbach (1548)

Oil on Canvas. H. 10 ft., 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Madrid, Prado

In 1548, at the age of seventy, Titian went to Augsburg, finding the offers of Emperor Charles V more attractive than the advantages given him in the papal service. With remarkable expedition he adapted himself to the new environment and began painting with the same untiring persistence and productivity that characterized his activity in his native land. All the celebrities at the court of Charles V sat to Titian for their portraits, most of which have disappeared and very few of which are preserved in reasonably good condition.

The earliest, perhaps, and the most important, picture that Titian painted at Augsburg was the equestrian portrait of the emperor. The intention of the picture was to portray Charles V as he appeared at the battle of Mühlbach in 1547. It is early morning. The gray atmosphere of dawn is just being dispelled by the red streaks in the sky that make reddish reflections on the rider's shining armor and seem ominous of the bloodshed to come. The emperor

sits easily and confidently on his spirited steed; his face has a pleasant, satisfied expression, which he seems always to have worn, if we may judge by other portraits.

The picture has been much damaged by fire and by repainting; but it still holds its own among the portraits by Velasquez that hang in the same galleries. The technique is far different from that of Titian's early work: the paint in some parts is laid on in truly impressionistic fashion, with dashes of pure, unmixed color; and, as was noted in the case of the portrait of the pope and his nephews (no. 938), the coloring of the whole picture is much more subdued than formerly.

940

Titian (1477-1576)

Entombment (1559)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft., 6 in.

Madrid, Prado

Barely six weeks out of the year 1559 were devoted by Titian to the execution of the Entombment, an order given him by Philip II, son of Charles V. Through long experience he had mastered his art so that it was now an almost spontaneous expression.

The dramatis personae of the composition are the same as in that splendid Entombment painted a generation earlier (no. 932). But the effect is very different. In the earlier work Christ is being borne to the tomb; the grief of his mourners is restrained and seems still to be mixed with hope; the composition of lines and masses of light and shade and color is carefully arranged to produce the most harmonious and rhythmic effect. In the late work Christ is already being deposited in the tomb; no hope tempers the mourning that has become passionate and unrestrained; the figures all throw themselves toward the body of Christ in a whirlpool of emotion, and coloring is of minor significance. Even the background, a mere patch of daubs, into which the figures merge, is no less effective than a landscape would have been for expressing the strong emotion of the figures. In his haste Titian has not even completely painted out a first trial position of the Magdalene's right hand, and it rises behind the Virgin like the shadow of countless unseen hands, down through the ages, raised in passionate protest against the sufferings of the Lord. Among Titian's early works the Sacred and Profane Love (no. 929) seemed sketchy, but how minutely finished it really is in comparison with his late works may be realized by comparing the bas relief on the sarcophagus in that picture with the Slaying of Abel and the Sacrifice of Isaac represented on the Lord's tomb. The plaque placed against this tomb bears the artist's signature: TITIANVS VECELLIVS EQVES CAESARIS.

The mottled coloring in this Entombment, giving something of the effect of changeable silk in the draperies and accenting all the inequalities of surface in the flesh parts, shows no slight relation to the work of Tintoretto (cf. no. 945). Nearly all the great masters of the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth are foreshadowed in the late works of Titian. Rubens might almost have painted this passionate Magdalene; Rembrandt's conceptions were akin to this massive head of Christ; and the head of Joseph of Arimathea bears an almost uncanny resemblance to El Greco's cardinal in the Frick collection (no. 1105). But instead of the bigotry and mercilessness of the Jesuite, a sadness and tenderness are expressed in the features of Christ's rich disciple, who, even to the detail of the skull cap, is a likeness of Titian as we see him in the unfinished portrait in Berlin painted at about the same time as the Entombment.

Up to his last years Titian went on painting the whole range of subjects. His technique became continually more sketchy and his emotion more passionate. The Rape of Europa in the Gardner Museum is one of the finest of his late mythological scenes, painted at about the same time as the Entombment. The Cincinnati Museum owns a portrait of Philip II, who commissioned the Entombment.

Lotto, Lorenzo (c. 1460-1556)

Portrait of an Old Man (c. 1543)

Oil on Canvas. H. 2 ft., 11½ in.

Milan, Brera

While Titian was in Augsburg, in the midst of the greatest successes of his life, he asked in a letter to Pietro Aretino to be remembered to Lotto, whose advice he professed to miss keenly. The intellectual quality of Lotto's pictures makes it easy for us to realize that his counsel would have been valuable to Titian, even though the latter never showed the influence of Lotto's style of painting. Lotto, on the other hand, was influenced by Titian's style. During two periods of his activity he made a conscious effort to imitate Titian, but the fiery colors were not suited to Lotto's temperament, and in the second period of imitation it is only the brush technique that betrays the influence. To this period belongs our portrait of an old man, perhaps the finest character study that Lotto ever painted. Lotto's principal achievements were in character study, and it is for this reason that, in spite of the fact that he painted a large number of religious subjects, we think of him primarily as a portraitist.

The identity of the old man in our picture is unknown. He seems to be of Northern type rather than Italian; his costume, especially, with the large hat, seems Northern. Even without a name he is a real personality, an old man rich in knowledge gained less by experience with the world than by study and reflection.

There is little color in the picture: the black costume is relieved by the yellow-red beard, the gray gloves, and white handkerchief; but there is nothing to detract from the thoughtful face and the sensitive hands. The paint is applied in little dashes that show the influence of Titian's work of the period, but these strokes are more carefully fused than in Titian's painting. The well-indicated bony structure of the face and hands, too, probably owes something to Titian, for it surpasses Lotto's usual performance. But the beautiful rendering of the transparent skin is finer than anything Titian ever did.

The introspective mood characteristic of Lotto's work makes one think of him in connection with Giorgione (cf. nos. 920-926); but there is this important difference, that Giorgione's people dream, Lotto's think.

Palma Vecchio (c. 1480-1528)

St. Barbara: Middle Panel of Altarpiece (c. 1520)

Oil on Wood. c. Life-Size

Venice, S. Maria Formosa

Palma Vecchio (i.e., the Elder) was born in Bergamo, but grew up in Venice and was trained there at the same time Sebastiano del Piombo was studying in that city; they must have worked under the same master. But, unlike Sebastiano, Palma remained true to his early training throughout his career. As characteristic of him one always thinks of his large, full female types that remind one of Titian though they lack that master's precision of drawing and articulation and exaggerate his effects of fleshy voluptuousness. One is frequently tempted to believe that part of Palma's motive in putting so much flesh and voluminous drapery on his figures was to conceal his inadequate knowledge of the bony structure beneath. Nevertheless, his splendid, dignified figures, rich in color as well as in health and vigor, have always been much admired.

Palma's masterpiece and one of the most popular of all Venetian paintings is the figure of St. Barbara that he painted as the middle panel of the altarpiece of the Bombardieri in S. Maria Formosa at Venice. St. Barbara was the patroness of Venetian artillerymen, so she dominates by her superior size and

beauty the full-length and half-length saints in the wings of the altarpiece that the brotherhood of artillerymen commissioned. In the pinnacle is a passionate and forceful representation of the Pieta. The grandiose figure of the patroness of warriors seems more like an amazon or the goddess Minerva than like a Christian saint. But instead of the helmet she wears a crown and instead of the lance she carries the martyr's palm. Behind her is her usual symbol, the tower in which her father had confined her lest her beauty should attract suitors and in which she embraced the Christian religion, which led to her martyrdom. At either side of her pedestal are pieces of cannon to denote her special patronage. The strong counterpoise of the figure enhances its impression of liveliness, and the delicate modeling and richness of color are the finest of which Palma was capable.

943

Palma Vecchio (c. 1480-1528)

Adoration of the Shepherds (c. 1520)

Oil on Canvas. H. 4 ft., 7 in.

Paris, Louvre

Like most artists living in Venice in the early years of the sixteenth century, Palma Vecchio was strongly influenced by Giorgione. And, as one expects in the hands of a lesser master, Giorgione's lyric sentiment became almost, if not quite, sentimentality in some of Palma's painting. Perhaps a little overdone, but still very appealing is the sweet expression of the figures in the Adoration of the Shepherds in the Louvre. The Virgin and the lady donor who kneels behind her are large, full types characteristic of Palma. The motive of the Child being assisted by the Virgin to make the sign of blessing has an air a bit too trivial and familiar, perhaps, and Joseph's prominence and expression of well-being are slightly offensive. But the shepherds' passionate adoration seems sincere; the composition is beautifully and simply designed; and the coloring is rich and harmonious. The beautiful coloring is probably more responsible than the figure types for the false attribution of the work to Titian, indicated by two forged signatures on the canvas: TITIANVS and TICIANNO.

944

Luini, Bernardino (1475?-1532?)

Burial of St. Catherine: Detail of Lunette from Chapel of Villa della

Pelucca near Monza (c. 1510)

Fresco Transferred to Wood. H. 4 ft.

Milan, Brera

Of the many Milanese painters who fell under the spell of Leonardo at Milan Bernardino Luini was one of the most important. He had not the mental qualifications to appreciate the deeper significance of Leonardo's art, but he caught the seductive softness of Leonardo's chiaroscuro and he emphasized that master's alluring expression. Through that emphasis Luini reached a result that in many of his pictures is cloying in its sweetness and misses the puzzling, fascinating character of Leonardo's faces (cf. no. 811). There is nothing puzzling about Luini's expression; it is always perfectly evident; that is why his work has a wide appeal in spite of its superficiality.

Sometimes Luini showed himself such a consummate master of sweetness and grace that we cannot call him superficial but can only enjoy the loveliness of his creations. The fresco of the Burial of St. Catherine is probably his masterpiece. It comes from the Casa Pelucca, near Monza, whither Luini fled, if we may believe an entirely unsubstantiated tradition, when he got into trouble in Milan. In that country house he painted in several rooms mythological and religious subjects, which are now scattered in a number of collections. Our fragment comes from the chapel, where it originally occupied the space above the entrance, with a figure of God the Father above it and a candle bear-

ing angel at each side. Three angels are bearing the body of St. Catherine across the Red Sea to its sepulcher on Mt. Sinai. On the sarcophagus are the letters C.V.S.X., which are probably the abbreviation for Catarina Virgo Sposa Christi (the Virgin Catherine, bride of Christ). The sarcophagus, with its hard, sharp lines, seems somewhat out of keeping with the rest of the composition, but it probably was less offensive in its original position just above the cornice of the door. The figures are full of charm. They float as lightly as the fleecy clouds behind them, and the angels carry the body of the saint, who seems to be sweetly sleeping, with a tenderness that partakes of mysticism. One would have thought only Perugino or some Sienese master capable of such mystic tenderness. Luini's fault is betrayed in the face of the angel looking out at us. The profile heads are altogether lovely; but when a face turns toward us and eyes are raised to meet our gaze, the sweetness seems a little overdone and sentimental. The soft, cool colors of fresco were admirably adapted to Luini's art. His paintings in oil are never so satisfactory; they nearly always seem a little too highly finished. But in whatever medium, Luini's works are, like Perugino's, to be seen only one or two at a time if they are to be truly enjoyed, just as sugar is pleasant only if eaten in small amounts.

945

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Miracle of St. Mark (1548)

Oil on Canvas. H. 13 ft., 8 in.

Venice, Academy

In 1548 Tintoretto painted the first of his three pictures commissioned by the brotherhood of St. Mark for their scuola. Several years earlier, because of some discord between master and pupil, he had been expelled from the atelier of Titian and at thirty years of age he was a thoroughly independent painter, about as completely self-trained as an artist can be, with independent technique and creative imagination.

We have become accustomed to use only such terms as emotion, passion, mood, and color in speaking of the Venetian school. For Lotto we had to add the word intellect in describing his characterizations. For Tintoretto we must use the same word in describing his whole process of creation. In this he seems more Florentine than Venetian: his works are products of intellect more than of emotion. He planned his compositions carefully, giving architectonic design equal consideration with color if not precedence. We see this already in the Miracle of St. Mark, the composition of which is painstakingly worked out through a number of extant studies and no doubt others that are lost. The figures are arranged to carry the eye in circling lines throughout the picture, bringing it back always to the center, where, with the figure of the executioner as intermediary, it plays back and forth between the startling figure of St. Mark, all energy and action, and the nude form of the slave lying passive on the ground.

In color the canvas is one of the richest of all Tintoretto's works. It is this brilliancy, together with the spontaneous, startling effect of the action, that has made the picture so popular and won for it in the estimation of many the rank as Tintoretto's greatest masterpiece, in spite of the fact that it falls far short of much of his work in sincere, penetrating interpretation of subject.

The legend that the picture is intended to illustrate tells how an Alexandrian slave, condemned to die because he persisted in leaving the city at intervals to worship at the shrine of St. Mark, was miraculously rescued by that saint. The outward signs of the miracle are here - the descending saint and the broken instruments of martyrdom - but the picture does not carry conviction; one feels that Tintoretto did not believe in the miracle or was not interested in it. The deep personal interest in the subject that he shows later in his great Crucifixion (no. 948), for example, is lacking here, and, as one critic has expressed it, "We look in vain for even a suggestion of the brutality of pagan fanaticism and cruelty . . . this pagan president appears to be the most benevolent actor in the drama." Like Titian's Assumption (no. 931), the Miracle of St. Mark is a show piece, and as such it is quite as successful as Titian's great picture. It is signed, JACOPO TENTOR F., and is in a remarkably good state of preservation.

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Portrait of Luigi Cornaro (c. 1560)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 8 in.

Florence, Pitti

In painting portraits Tintoretto was as prolific as Rembrandt and, like Rembrandt, he has had scores of portraits falsely ascribed to him. There are surely a hundred or more genuine portraits by Tintoretto extant, not including the many that he introduced into religious subjects (many of the figures in the Miracle of St. Mark, for example, are portraits), and he must have painted many more that are lost. One of the finest is his portrait of the much loved Luigi Cornaro, author of the celebrated treatise on the temperate life. Cornaro lived to be nearly a hundred years old. He is probably about ninety in our portrait, which would thus date about 1560. Venetian habits in the Renaissance seem to have been conducive to longevity. It was not at all unusual for men to live nearly a century, physically and mentally active to the last: Titian is a good case in point. So Cornaro, though his face shows the decay of age, is still alert and interesting.

The painting has been attributed to Titian, as would be possible with only the finest of Tintoretto's portraits, for it is generally conceded that Titian surpassed Tintoretto in this field. The poetry of such a portrait as the Man with the Glove (no. 930) or the striking characterization of the three "actors" in the portrait of Pope Paul III and His Nephews (no. 938) is not to be seen in Tintoretto's portraits, which present the sitters in quiet attitudes, with drastic subordination of all accessories, with appreciation of their individuality, but with no great addition of interest. Some poetic charm must, however, be conceded to Tintoretto's portrait of two brothers in the Metropolitan Museum. The old age of Cornaro in the Pitti portrait and the dark costume and background that Tintoretto has used are suggestive of Lotto's portrait of an Old man (no. 941); but Tintoretto's is objective, while Lotto's is subjective.

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Madonna with Saints and the Camerlenghi (1566)

Oil on Canvas. H. 7 ft., 4 in.

Venice, Academy

The Venetians were so accustomed to ceremony that the real and the imagined did not seem to them incongruous. So Tintoretto could paint real persons in the presence of saints and the Madonna in a perfectly convincing manner, feeling no anachronism or contradiction in the scene. One of his favorite canvases represents three Camerlenghi, or Venetian treasurers, dignified but devout, approaching the Madonna as naturally as if they were the three Magi. Like the Magi, too, they bring gifts, for they are followed by attendants carrying bags of gold to pour at the feet of the Virgin, thus symbolizing the consecration to her of the city's wealth. The bearded man behind the Virgin is possibly another attendant. Even the saints seem to be portraits, at least the young man in armor who personifies St. George. The Virgin, as has frequently been remarked, is strikingly similar in pose to Michelangelo's unfinished statue in the Medici chapel of St. Lorenzo (no. 594).

The scene is laid in an Italian piazza with a distant view of beautifully varied landscape beneath a summer sky softened by fleecy clouds. The date of the picture, 1566, is inscribed beneath the arms of the Pisani, the Malipiero, and the Baseggio, to which families the three treasurers belonged.

A similar type of picture is in the Metropolitan Museum. It shows the Doge Alvise Mocenigo before the Saviour and is a study for a painting in the Ducal Palace. Here the relationship between the holy figures and the worshiper seems less realistic. With entranced expression the kneeling doge looks out from the picture as if the Saviour were a vision of his inner eye.

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Crucifixion (1565)

Oil on Canvas. H. c. 20 ft.

Venice, Scuola di S. Rocco

That the Miracle of St. Mark (no. 945) is lacking in sincerity and conviction becomes evident when one compares it with such a painting as the great Crucifixion that Tintoretto painted in 1565, as the inscription informs us, for the refectory of the Scuola di S. Rocco. One would never speak of this picture as a show piece, vast as it is. The subject appealed to Tintoretto; he painted the Crucifixion again and again, always from a new point of view (cf. no. 949).

In the S. Rocco version Christ is represented at the moment when He utters the pathetic plaint, "I thirst." His end draws near, but still the execution of the two thieves has not yet begun, their crosses are not erected, for Tintoretto did not wish anything to compete with the figure of Christ and its glory of light outlined against the gathering clouds. The loneliness of that figure and of the little crowd of faithful followers huddled together at the foot of the cross is enhanced by the busy activity of the men erecting the other crosses and by the crowds of people who look on from a distance. Most of these spectators are unmoved by the scene, looking upon it as an ordinary execution. But here and there are individuals who catch a vision of the divinity of this Crucified One. Particularly conspicuous is a rider at the left, who strains forward, breathless with excitement, to see more clearly the halo of glory. There are plenty of indifferent spectators, but there are none who jeer. The single suggestion of derision is afforded by the rider behind the cross to the left: a man sits on a young ass that sniffs at withered palms lying on the ground - the reference is obviously to Christ's entry into Jerusalem - and the man points toward Christ, calling the attention of those beyond him to the degeneration in Christ's estate since that day of the triumphal entry. For his spiritual blindness prevents his seeing that a glory more splendid than that ovation with palms and flowers now shines about Christ and makes His present triumph far greater.

Even the little group of followers do not yet comprehend the fullness of Christ's triumph. They are still too stunned with the sense of their loss to realize that future help will come out of that loss, and they draw close to each other, finding comfort in the touch of fellow sufferers. They indulge in no extravagant gestures. One of them, wrapped in a black silk shawl, stands in anguish in front of the cross; the Magdalene and St. John cannot take their eyes from the face of their Master; the others are broken by their sorrow and cannot look up. Joseph of Arimathea kneels like a Magus before the Virgin who, stricken as she is, yet reaches a protecting arm about a younger companion who kneels against her breast exhausted by grief.

There is no brilliancy of coloring here as in the early Miracle of St. Mark. The colors are all neutral. An ominous dimness has settled over the scene, broken in the center by the rays of supernatural light; the oncoming storm is already bending the trees low on the hillside. There is a wealth of detail in the picture; we can study it for hours, and always the eye comes back to the majestic figure on the cross, and the fortitude and patience with which He meets His persecution grips the heart.

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Crucifixion (c. 1575)

Oil on Canvas. H. 6 ft., 9 in.

Venice, S. Cassiano

Tintoretto's version of the Crucifixion that still hangs above the altar in the church of S. Cassiano is very different from the vast composition he painted in the refectory of the S. Rocco scuola. In the latter Christ is

raised high above all classes of humanity. In the former He appears in close and intimate connection with those who loved Him most; the crowds of indifferent spectators are hidden behind the hill that falls abruptly away just beyond the crosses and leaves visible only the heads of soldiers, a banner, and a forest of spears as witness of the Roman law that sanctions the tragedy of these crosses outlined against the cloudy sky. The theme of devotion to others in times of one's own persecution appealed to Tintoretto; we noted it in connection with the little group of mourners at the foot of the cross in the S. Rocco example: Joseph of Arimathaea thought of the Virgin, who in turn put a comforting arm about a companion, and all the mourners clung together. That theme is the central motive of the S. Cassiano Crucifixion: as Christ feels the first bitter pangs of His suffering, even before the inscription has been placed on His cross, He bends His head tenderly toward His mother, commending her to care of the beloved disciple. It seems that Tintoretto would make this act responsible for the repentance of the thief, who looks toward Christ full of amazement at this expression of unselfishness.

The picture is fine as a composition, with its diagonal lines converging toward the Christ, and very decorative in the outline of the figures, crosses, and spears against the sky. Velasquez is said to have taken his suggestion for the decorative use of lances in his Surrender of Breda from this picture; much more than that must have impressed him. The coloring is soft and harmonious with predominant grays, as was common in Velasquez' works. Though less striking than the brilliant coloring in the Miracle of St. Mark, these pale tonalities are worked into a more sensitive, subtle harmony.

950

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Bacchus and Ariadne Crowned by Venus (1578)

Oil on Canvas. Figures slightly above Life-Size

Venice, Ducal Palace

Tintoretto's ability was recognized by the Venetian state, and especially after the passing of Titian his services were greatly in demand. He had a large share in the decoration of the Ducal Palace, where some of his choice paintings are still to be seen. In 1578 he painted four mythological subjects in the waiting room called the Ante-Collegio. All four of these are fine. But for sheer beauty there is nothing in Tintoretto's extant work, and perhaps nothing in all art, that surpasses the picture reproduced in our photograph. Who would have thought that the same man who painted the deeply religious Crucifixion in S. Rocco would have painted this amorous pagan scene! Only a man whose own inner life was rich and full could give such sympathetic expression to both the poignant tragedy of the Crucifixion and the sweet, breathless expectancy of love.

How different is Tintoretto's meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne from Titian's version! Full-blooded Titian brought along the drunken train of the god; he had Bacchus spring passionately toward the goddess; he saw the physical aspect of the love scene (no. 934). Tintoretto saw the spiritual aspect; he has expressed the very essence of love as the Greeks were accustomed to express it. (In his four mythological pictures in the Ante-Collegio some think that Tintoretto came nearer to the spirit of the Greeks than has any other master since antiquity.) It is the goddess of love herself, Venus, who unites the two lovers. Not with a great rush, but like a fleecy summer cloud she floats into the scene, placing the god-given crown of stars on Ariadne's head and gently guiding the bride's hand toward the wedding ring offered by Bacchus. This tiny ring is the center of the whole composition; all lines revolve about it, and all eyes are turned toward it; it symbolizes the consecration of love, and it symbolizes also for the Venetians the consecration of the riches of the Adriatic to the city of Venice.

The conception of the picture is equaled by its execution. It would seem impossible to surpass this painting of soft flesh, the lightness of the gauze web about the body of Venus, the delicate harmony of blues of sky, sea, and drapery folds, and the relieving note of green in the girdle and crown of Bacchus.

In the collection of Mr. Samuel Sachs, New York, is an unfinished painting of Diana by Tintoretto, which is very closely related to the Bacchus and Ariadne and the other three pictures in the Ante-Collegio. The broad sure strokes in the less finished parts show us something of Tintoretto's method of working.

951

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

St. George and the Dragon (c. 1580)

Oil on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 2 in.

London, National Gallery

The luminous coloring of Tintoretto's late works rivals the beauty of iridescent glass. In the picture of St. George Rescuing the Princess, in the National Gallery, silvery harmonies prevail, enlivened by the blue and rose of the princess' draperies. The execution is swift and sketchy, flashes of high value bringing out the salient points. The painting may have been a study for some larger picture.

Tintoretto has not followed the traditional arrangement of the subject, as we see it, for example, in Carpaccio's version (no. 918). Instead of the long horizontal panel, with the dragon and the equestrian group stretched out in profile across the field and the princess tucked away at one side, Tintoretto has chosen an upright space, with the action taking place mainly in the third dimension, and the princess is made the principal character. Richly dressed and decked in royal jewels but frightened, like a child lost in the wood, the little princess has run toward us, and she falls to her knees on a stone while St. George dispatches the dragon in the middle distance. He is a picturesque figure, and the energy with which he bends himself to his task matches the fire of his steed. Above, the clouds roll back to disclose a view of God the Father in a glory of light pronouncing His blessing upon the warrior saint. This heavenly vision gives a religious touch to the subject, which always tends toward the realm of the fairy tale.

The landscape is one of the very fine ones in Tintoretto's paintings; its elements are broadly painted; but the distance is remarkably expressed, and the whole setting is very decorative.

952

Tintoretto, Jacopo (1518-1594)

Paradise (1590)

Oil on Canvas. H. c. 32 ft.

Venice, Ducal Palace

Ruskin calls Tintoretto's Paradise the "thoughtfullest and most precious" picture in the world. One's first impression upon looking at the vast, complicated picture may be that Ruskin was letting his characteristic enthusiasm blind his judgment when he made that statement. But the statement denies the right to first impressions regarding the picture: a work thoughtfully created requires thoughtful study for appreciation.

When in 1587 the officials decided that the Paradise (see no. 883) which Guariento had painted on the throne wall of the Great Council Hall in the Ducal Palace nearly two centuries before was too antiquated for the rich decorations that had recently been painted on the side walls, there was great competition for the honor of filling its place. Tintoretto wanted the commission. He felt that in painting the picture of paradise in his last years he could get a foretaste of the paradise for which he hoped in the life to come. But he was considered too old for such an extensive undertaking, and the commission was given to Paolo Veronese, who had been a congenial fellow-worker of Tintoretto's in the decoration of other rooms of the Ducal Palace. But before he had finished sketches for the work, Veronese died, and Tintoretto

was given the chance for which he longed. In the hall of the Scuola della Misericordia, which was provided for the artist, Tintoretto set to work. For the vast wall space, nearly eighty feet wide and more than thirty feet high, he had his canvas cut in sections. One section, originally intended to be used, but discarded because of a revision of the composition after Tintoretto had begun working on the final painting, is in the Sherman collection in Rome. It represents a choir of angels and was apparently intended to be placed just below Christ, for the divine rays shower directly upon the figures.

Tintoretto painted nearly the whole composition with his own hand, entrusting only the joining of the sections to his son Domenico; for he himself was too old to run up and down the ladder putting on the finishing touches and had to content himself with directing the work from the floor below. When the picture was completed, after about two and a half years of concentrated effort, the praise accorded it was all that an artist could desire for the crowning work of his life.

How Tintoretto labored over the composition before he even started work on the final canvas is suggested by the extant studies. According to a recent investigation, his method of visualizing his compositions was approximately as follows: On a scaffolding placed at the desired height with reference to the eye, he built up his composition with wax figures. Before this composition in three dimensions he stretched a net. His large canvas was marked off into squares corresponding to the squares of this net. Then on drawing sheets marked off in the same way, studies of the single figures were made from the nude and these were transferred to the canvas. Such a process, if employed for only the more important of the seven hundred figures of the Paradise, must have involved endless labor. But it explains, too, how without any architectural setting for this vast composition, Tintoretto was yet able to give such a vivid impression of space.

Christ and the Virgin, supported on a bank of baby angels, form the center of the composition. About Christ's head is a glory of light, rays from which extend to the farthestmost figures in the great host. The seven stars encircling the Virgin's head symbolize the Seven Churches. In concentric bands all the elect are gathered. The three archangels approach Christ and the Virgin most closely. Gabriel, from the left, brings the triple Annunciation Lily and leads a host of cherubim (CHERUBINI). Michael, from the right, presents his scale and leads the Thrones and Principalities of the earth, angels carrying scales and globes and bearing the inscriptions TRONI and PRINCIPATVS on their wings. Above both Gabriel and Michael are the seraphim (SERAFINI). Raphael, from below, rises with seraphic expression, as if drawn up by the power of the rays emanating from the head of Christ; at his sides are the four evangelists with their symbols. In the next circle come the great prophets: David, singing from his golden psalter to the dictation of angels; Solomon, on whose head an angel rests a book of wisdom; Moses, with his tablets; Abraham, with Isaac. The patriarchs, the church fathers, the apostles, and many saints are recognizable by their symbols, and further back, in the bright celestial ether we see everywhere the forms of angels that mingle with the blessed from the earth. In spite of its darkened, dried condition the Paradise is still a marvelous picture, an inexhaustible mine of interesting material, bound together into a unified whole by harmony of color, careful arrangement of lines, and a perfect distribution of light and shade.

953

Veronese, Paolo (1528-1588)

Marriage at Cana (1563)

Oil on Canvas. H. 21 ft., 10 in.

Paris, Louvre

To the intellectual Tintoretto, his contemporary and friend Paolo Veronese forms a striking contrast. Veronese, so called from his birthplace, Verona, seems not to have penetrated beyond the surface of things, but he painted the surface marvelously. As Ghirlandaio's pictures are really scenes of Florentine life of the fifteenth century, Veronese's portray the life of Venice in the sixteenth century. Like Carpaccio, he loved the splendor of Venice, but his characters are sophisticated and grand, whereas Carpaccio's

are naïve and childlike.

We think of Veronese as Venetian because he worked in Venice through his most fruitful years and found that city most congenial. As a matter of fact, he came to Venice from his home town only after he had become a finished master, at the age of twenty-seven. There are traits in his work that show his Veronese derivation: particularly noticeable is his fondness for elaborate architectural settings, which characterized the painting of Verona as far back as Altichiero and Avanzi (cf. no. 884). The sylvan element that Giorgione has taught us to expect in Venetian painting had little attraction for Veronese. He loved the city with all its splendor and society. And yet he had the most essential qualification of a landscapist, for he could paint light marvelously. Critics now study him as a luminist, quite in the modern sense.

In 1563 Veronese painted for the refectory of the convent of S. Giorgio il Maggiore in Venice the vast canvas of the Marriage at Cana, now in the Louvre. In Leonardo's day the Last Supper (cf. no. 809) had been considered the suitable subject for these dining rooms of religious orders. Now the monks and nuns were to have pictorial representations of the luxuries and riches that were, theoretically at least, denied them. The Marriage at Cana gave far greater range to Veronese's tastes than the Last Supper could have given. Christ is here, to be sure, and so placed that He is the center of attention in the picture, the brightest light falling upon Him and lines everywhere in the picture converging toward Him. But many contemporary celebrities also are here. The Marquis of Avalos and Eleanor, Queen of France, pose as bride and groom at the left end of the table. The Sultan of Turkey, Francis I, Charles V, and Queen Mary of England are among the distinguished guests at this wedding feast. And a company of contemporary artists furnish the music for the occasion: Veronese himself, in splendid yellow cloak, plays the viola; Tintoretto, holding a similar instrument, leans forward to speak to him; Bassano blows on a flute; and the old Titian plays the bass. Very splendid is the costuming and the setting, too, with marble pavement, columns, and the balustrade behind which servants hurry back and forth to bring food for the banquet. With characteristic Venetian love of ceremony, men and women look down upon the scene from the balconies beyond. The surprisingly slight diminution in the size of these spectators is explained by Veronese's desire, based on decorative instinct, to keep his figures as nearly as possible in one plane. In such a vast composition as this he has had to falsify perspective, using several vanishing points in order to avoid great depth.

The coloring, as is usual with Veronese, is cool and silvery, with effective play of light and shade but no deep shadows.

954

Veronese, Paolo (1528-1588)

Europa and the Bull (1574-1576)

Oil on Canvas. H. 8 ft., 6 in.

Venice, Ducal Palace

Tintoretto and Veronese worked side by side in friendly relationship in the Ducal Palace. One imagines that Tintoretto must have found the light, fanciful mind of the younger man an antidote to his own philosophical bent. Only two years separate their decorations in the Ante-Collegio, but a great aesthetic difference separates them. In color and execution they may be rivals, for in his Europa Veronese outdid his usual excellence in luminous coloring. But in intellectual significance Veronese's work is empty in comparison with Tintoretto's. The Bacchus and Ariadne (no. 950) we compared with Greek work in spirit. Europa and the Bull finds more appropriate parallels in works of the eighteenth century. These fair women, with soft bosoms showing above rich silks, showered with fruit and flowers by putti flying among the feathery trees, suggest the decorations of Boucher (cf. no. 1144), as the group going down to the sea where Europa takes leave of her companions on the snow-white bull that embodies the passionate spirit of Zeus, must surely have been a source of inspiration to Watteau in his composition of the Embarkation for Cythera (no. 1138).

There are some mythological and allegorical paintings by Veronese in American collections that are attributable to the period when he was working

in the Ante-Collegio. Foremost among them is the Mars and Venus in the Metropolitan Museum, which has the unusual distinction of being signed. Veronese seems seldom to have signed his paintings except when destined for exportation; he expected his style to be sufficient signature for his own countrymen. The Mars and Venus was presumably painted for Emperor Rudolf II. Two allegorical subjects from the same collection and now in the Frick collection, New York, belong to the same period.

955

Veronese, Paolo (1528-1588)

Marriage of St. Catherine (1577-1578)

Oil on Canvas

Venice, S. Caterina

The Marriage of St. Catherine, which Veronese painted for the high altar that it now decorates, is conceived on a more ideal plane than the Marriage at Cana (no. 953), for the subject did not lend itself so well to transformation into a contemporary scene. None of the figures in the later painting, with the possible exception of St. Catherine, seem to be portraits. Veronese's love of elaborate architecture is evident in the beautiful marble steps and fluted columns that form the Madonna's throne. But otherwise the setting is celestial, with angels emerging in hosts from the fleecy clouds. The subject is handled in a dignified manner, but the principal charm of the picture is due to the beautiful, harmonious coloring and the play of light over the rich silks. A fine example of Veronese's superb painting of brocades is afforded by the dress of St. Catherine, where we can follow the pattern over and under the folds, through shadows and high lights, all so natural in effect that we forget the difficulty of such painting.

956

Moretto da Brescia (1498-1555)

St. Justina (c. 1530)

Oil on Wood. H. 6 ft., 7 in.

Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum

One of the best of the North Italian painters outside of Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century was a native of Brescia nicknamed Moretto (the Moor), perhaps because of his dark complexion. Like most North Italian painters of his day, he went to Venice; but unlike most, he did not stay; he returned to Brescia not appreciably influenced by the great Venetians. The most striking dissimilarity between his work and that characteristically Venetian is in the color. Instead of the warm golden tones of Titian or Giorgione, a cool silvery light pervades Moretto's pictures. In their tonality they have been compared to the paintings of Vermeer of Delft (cf. nos. 1294-1298), who apparently attained the effect in much the same way as Moretto had, by an underpainting of light colors, in which blue predominates.

Moretto's best-known picture, and the one usually considered to be his masterpiece, represents St. Justina in the role of protectress to a kneeling donor. It is characterized by Moretto's usual excellence and novelty of design. The bit of foliage in the upper right-hand corner and the unicorn in the lower left corner are unusual features. The unicorn is symbol of purity or chastity, but we are accustomed in Renaissance art to find such emblems in miniature size, like the lamb of St. Lucy, which she commonly holds in her hands. Even the composition of the two principal figures is unusual. This saint and donor in a broad peaceful landscape might almost be taken for a lady and her lover were it not for the sincerely religious expression of their faces. The forms are beautifully drawn and firmly modeled, and the draperies are painted with an excellent feeling for varied textures. Moretto has been likened to Crivelli in his fondness for rich, heavy brocades, such as that of St. Justina's mantle; he is about as much unlike Crivelli as anyone could possibly be in the restrained emotion of his figures, in the calm, peaceful spirit that fills his picture.

The fine portrait of the donor prepares us for the information that Moretto was the teacher of that excellent portraitist Moroni (cf. no. 957).

The small canvas of Christ in the Desert in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, shows well the remarkably modern character of Moretto's compositions; it is interesting, too, for the naturalistic treatment of the animals.

957

Moroni, Giambattista (1520-1578)

Portrait of a Tailor (Third Quarter of Sixteenth Century)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 2½ in.

London, National Gallery

Moroni was born in Bergamo but is classed as Brescian because he was trained under Moretto da Brescia (cf. no. 956). He knew the Venetians, too, and such men as Titian and Lotto were a great inspiration to him. As a painter of religious scenes he was only mediocre; as a portraitist he surpassed Titian. For though his portraits are no so brilliant and striking as Titian's, they show a deeper penetration of character. In comparison with Lotto's they are more accurate interpretations of the sitters and are less affected by the character of the artist.

Moroni's most famous painting in his portrait of a tailor in the National Gallery. The sincere truthfulness of the picture, its complete freedom from ostentation make a strong appeal. This middle-aged man, dressed in picturesque costume of silvery cream doublet and red, full trousers, interrupts his work of cutting the black cloth spread out on the table to look up at us with a quiet, meditative air, as he might look at a customer to determine what style of cloak would be most becoming. This picture is the kind of thing that makes one feel it is the man that counts, not his trade. This man ennobles his trade, and as Moroni has shown him we find him quite as interesting as any representative of a more intellectual profession. For the beautiful lighting of the picture, effective but simple, for the cool tonality of the coloring, and for the accurate drawing of the figure, Moroni was indebted to the teaching of Moretto da Brescia.

There are some fine examples of Moroni's work in the Metropolitan Museum; the portrait of a Prioress is almost equal to that of the Tailor.

958

Dossi, Dosso (1479-1542)

Circe (c. 1516?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 9 5/8 in.

Rome, Borghese

Dosso Dossi, a native of Ferrara, but indebted to the Venetians, particularly to Giorgione and Titian, for his style, has been compared to that unprincipled but invaluable friend of painters, Ariosto. Like Ariosto's writings, Dossi's paintings are insignificant in content but charming in form. The relation to Ariosto seems to be even closer in the case of the Circe. Details of the picture indicate that Ariosto's Orlando was the source of the subject matter of the picture and not Homer's description. Ariosto's poem was first published in 1516. However, Dossi was in the service of the court of Mantua when a copy of the manuscript of the poem was sent to the marchioness of Mantua in 1512 and began making the round of the art-loving courts. Dossi was therefore probably familiar with the poem even before its publication. If his picture was based on the poem, our Circe would be the Fee Melissa. She is busy with her magic. Beside her a variety of animals (the swine, so significant in Homer's account, are missing) and an empty coat of armor indicate her dread powers of transforming men into beasts - perhaps the bird, perching on the armor, or the dog, that looks with such sad eyes into the distance, was

once the proud warrior who wore the shining cuirass. Such vagrant fancies are suggested by this and other pictures by Dossi, which never occupy us seriously. But the beautiful brocades, the soft mellow light diffused through a charming landscape, and the rich coloring are far more enchanting to the eye than the expression Dossi has given the enchantress herself. The landscape and especially the figures in the middle distance have a romantic quality that betrays Dossi's admiration for Giorgione. There is a similar use of landscape and figures in Dossi's painting of the Three Ages of Man in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

959

Correggio (1494-1534)

Trellis with Putti; Mythological and Allegorical Figures

Decoration on Ceiling of ~~Reception~~ Reception Room (1519)

Fresco. Putti c. Life-Size

Parma, Convent of S. Paolo

Antonio Allegri, called Correggio from the place of his birth, was the most important of the painters of northern Italy outside Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century. Like the rest, he was influenced by the great Venetians, but the influence of Mantegna and of the Florentines, particularly of Raphael, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, is more evident in his work than is that of the Venetians. These influences are noticeable only in his early works. His own ideals were so individual, so different from the ideals of any contemporary painters that in his maturity their influence is hardly recognizable, and he is more akin to the artists of France two centuries later, to rococo artists like Watteau, who painted the charm of femininity.

It is in his early work that the various influences can be clearly traced. In the Detroit Museum is a Marriage of St. Catherine by Correggio, one of the earliest of his works, wherein we see the massive forms of Mantegna and the chiaroscuro learned from Leonardo. Works by both artists were accessible to the young Correggio. He painted in Mantua in the chapel of S. Andrea, where Mantegna had worked, and he had plenty of opportunity in Mantua to learn of Leonardo's style: the Gonzagas, particularly Isabella d'Este, were patrons of Leonardo.

In Correggio's Holy Family in the John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, the Mantegnesque forms have become softer and the Leonardesque chiaroscuro is more mobile than a little earlier, while in the altarpiece with the Four Saints in the Metropolitan Museum there is hardly any suggestion of Mantegna, and the chiaroscuro that started from Leonardo has become characteristically Correggesque, used to suggest a flowing movement in every form and a softness and coquettishness in the female figures, especially the Magdalene, which seem somewhat out of place in a religious picture. The form of the composition of this altarpiece shows that Correggio had now come under the influence of Raphael. He had gone to Bologna to see Raphael's St. Cecilia. About 1518 Correggio must have gone to Rome, for in the S. Paolo frescoes, probably painted in 1518 or 1519, we first see the influence of Michelangelo.

At an earlier date only religious subjects would have been considered appropriate for any room in a convent. Everything in Fra Angelico's decorations for the convent of S. Marco at Florence (cf. nos. 774-776) is conducive to holy thoughts. The gay, pagan spirit of Correggio's decorations in the reception room of the convent of S. Paola at Parma is an indication of the more worldly character of his time: love of life was breaking over all restraint in more than one monastery. The abbess of the convent of S. Paolo, Giovanna Piacenza, came of a wealthy family; she was abbess less because of religious conviction than because it was the fashion for ladies of standing to take such positions. She was not exceptional. Her predecessor had had the pavement of one of the rooms decorated with amorous mottoes: Solo in te spero, Rosa (My hope is set on you alone, my rose), Caro il mio tesoro (Love is my treasure), and the like. For the abbess Giovanna Piacenza's decorations Correggio got his suggestion from her family arms, in which three crescent moons appear. Quite possibly she herself was accustomed to make much of this suggestion of association with the pagan moon goddess, Diana. Over the mantel

Correggio painted the goddess herself in her chariot, a figure which owes something, no doubt, to Raphael's Galatea, painted about five years earlier in the Farnesina at Rome. The sacrificial ox, silver pitchers, and patera used in the rites of the goddess are supported by pieces of cloth suspended from rams' heads around the base of the vault. This decoration, like that of the semicircular spaces just above, is done in monochrome to simulate sculpture. The semicircular spaces, one at the base of each of the sixteen divisions of the dome, appear as niches, in which are mythological figures, Fortune with her horn of plenty and helm, Minerva, with lance and torch, the three Graces, Adonis (?), a satyr, Juno, etc. They are all beautifully painted, with the most charming use of light and shade, and they produce a very original effect even if they were suggested, as is generally believed, by antique coins and medallions.

The cupola itself is the most striking part of the decoration. It is umbrella shaped, in sixteen sections, and Correggio has made it look like a dome-shaped arbor. There are two works by Mantegna from which Correggio may have got the suggestion, the entwined bamboo decoration of the vault of the chapel of S. Andrea and the arbor in the altarpiece of the Madonna of Victory (no. 892). The device of figures appearing through openings in the vault was no doubt suggested by the ceiling of the Camera degli Sposi in Mantua, where Mantegna painted figures looking over the balustrade around a simulated opening (no. 890). Correggio's little figures are to be thought of as standing on a platform that runs around the vault just beyond the trellis. They are nude boys, or genii, followers of Diana in the hunt: some play with the goddess' hunting dogs; one holds up a stag's head; one blows on a hunting horn so violently that the little fellow next to him claps his hands to his ears; some quarrel with each other; some try to reach the fruit that hangs at the ends of garlands suspended from the center of the vault; all are charming, sturdy little fellows that both in their chunky build and in their poses betray a study of those genii that accompany the prophets and sibyls on the Sistine Ceiling (cf. nos. 874, 875).

These decorations are still well preserved and give an impression of great charm. The room must have been lovely enough to suit the most fastidious abbess when its walls were hung, as they surely were originally, with tapestries completing the rich harmony of colors in the vault.

960

Correggio (1494-1534)

Marriage of St. Catherine (c. 1520)

Oil on Wood. H. 3 ft., 5 3/8 in.

Paris, Louvre

The Marriage of St. Catherine in the Louvre was probably painted a little later than the S. Paolo vault (no. 959). The Child's form does not suggest the genii of the Sistine Ceiling as do the little figures in the vault. He is less sturdy, more soft and cuddling. His face is the roguish cupid type that appears again and again in Correggio's later works. Correggio has reached his mature style, in which he abandons his art - even in religious themes - to the representation of grace and sentiment. The Virgin is a lovely woman, who with the greatest tenderness assists the Child to put the ring on St. Catherine's finger. St. Catherine's whole form seems to tremble at the touch of the baby fingers on her own soft, lax hand, and St. Sebastian looks on with a smile that makes him seem more like Cupid with the love darts than like a saint with instruments of martyrdom.

The composition of the picture is very clever, with the three hands forming the center toward which all lines converge and all eyes are directed. The landscape background, too, is one of Correggio's finest. It has a richness and breadth comparable to Titian's landscapes, and the light of the western sky, especially in the passage where it gleams through the tree trunks, was hardly surpassed by Titian. The martyrdom of the two saints, who seem so engrossed in the joy of living in the main scene of the composition, is dimly discerned in this landscape background.

Correggio's religious scenes are never quite satisfactory. The affected sweetness of expression and the nervous movement of every form are disquieting in a picture where one expects dignity and solemnity. But they must have been popular with such contemporary patrons as the abbess who commissioned the decoration for her convent of S. Paolo, people who mixed the joys of living with their religion. Our picture was commissioned by the rich and cultured old family of the Grillenzoni in Modena.

961

Correggio (1494-1534)

Madonna of the Day (1523-1528)

Oil on Wood. H. 6 ft., 9 in.

Parma, Picture Gallery

For the painting of daylight one of Correggio's finest pictures is the altarpiece commonly known as the Madonna with St. Jerome, or, because of the marvelous light, the Madonna of the Day. It was ordered in 1523 by Donna Briseide Colla, but Correggio was busy with other important commissions at the time, among them the decoration of the cupola of the Cathedral in Parma, so the Madonna ancona was not placed over the altar in S. Antonio at Parma until 1528. There is close relationship in details between the altarpiece and the contemporary frescoes in the cathedral. We can see this relationship by comparing, for example, the St. Jerome of the altarpiece with a study in the collection of Professor Mather at Princeton for an apostle in the cupola fresco.

The bony, angular figure of St. Jerome serves as an excellent foil to the soft, graceful forms of the other members of this joyous gathering. The Virgin, set at the back of the niche-like arrangement of figures, has one of the loveliest faces Correggio ever painted. She looks down sweetly at the lively Christ Child, Who enjoys being the center of attention and reaches out eagerly for the book that the angel holds at a safe distance, turning the pages for the amusement, as it would seem, of the Baby. As He reaches for the book, Christ's body tips back and His left hand brushes lightly over the Magdalene's hair. At the touch of the tiny hand a tremor of ecstatic pleasure seems to pass along the nervous curves of her figure. The smile of the angel holding the book is faun-like in its expression of purely physical pleasure, and one feels that if it were possible to move the Magdalene aside for a moment one would surely discover goat legs on that mischievous little fellow who is stealing a whiff of perfume from the Magdalene's vase of ointment while she is not looking.

There are vague reminiscences of Leonardo in the picture. The setting, under a canopy spread from one tree to another, with a distant view beyond, has an effect somewhat similar to that of the setting in the Madonna of the Rocks (no. 807), and the Virgin's face calls up Leonardo's St. Anne (no. 812). But the style looks into the future more than into the past. This agitated, nervous movement and extravagant expression are leading inevitably to the baroque. And only a little change in the blond angel and the Magdalene seems necessary to produce Bernini's two figures in the Ecstasy of St. Theresa (no. 1026).

962

Correggio (1494-1534)

Holy Night (1522-1530)

Oil on Wood. H. 8 ft., 5 in.

Dresden, Gallery

The Madonna of the Day (no. 961) was Correggio's masterpiece of daylight painting; the Nativity is the culmination of his studies of artificial light. Dawn is tinging the sky beyond the distant hills, but inside the ruins that

serve at the same time as stable and shelter for the Holy Family all is still dark except where the divine light from the Child penetrates. That light, brilliant but silvery, like concentrated starlight, blinds the peasant woman who comes with an offering of pigeons; but the shepherds and the happy mother seem to bask in its warmth. In the British Museum is a study for the picture which is finer than the finished painting in the gradation of the light as it penetrates the darkness; there the effect is really comparable to Rembrandt's painting of light. The angels that fly above the scene in a billow of fleecy clouds share the criticism of some of Correggio's dome decorations: the mass of gesticulating arms and sprawling legs is distressing. The trouble with Correggio's angelic figures is that they propel themselves with their legs (their arms are usually occupied in gesticulation) as if they were swimming, instead of depending on their wings and their faith.

The loveliest part of the picture is in that central glow, where the mother hovers over her Babe on His nest of straw. The sweetness of the mother's face may be a little exaggerated, but we accept this vision as the expression of the joyous Christmas message, and the popularity of the picture is justified.

The two columns in the picture harmonized with the details of the original frame that Correggio himself probably designed for the canvas. They seem a little incongruous as the picture now stands. The original frame is still in the church of S. Prospero at Reggio. The picture was commissioned by Alberto Pratonero in 1522 and was placed in the Pratoneri chapel in the church of S. Prospero in 1530. Correggio therefore had the work in hand while he was painting the Madonna of the Day, and no doubt he thought to make the two his supreme studies of artificial and natural light.

963

Correggio (1494-1534)

St. Hilary Pendentive (1526-1530)

Fresco

Parma, Cathedral

For the hosts of writhing, fluttering figures in seventeenth century baroque decorations of Italian ceilings and domes Correggio set the example. He painted three domes, all at Parma: the dome in the convent of S. Paolo (c. 1519), the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista (1520-1524), and the dome of the cathedral (commissioned in 1522; painted, 1526-1530). Of these, the dome of S. Paolo (no. 959), the smallest and least pretentious, is by far the most satisfying. The composition in the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista is still simply planned and monumental. But the dome of the cathedral is an orgy of extravagant movement and confused forms. The theme of this last fresco is the Assumption of the Virgin. Around a balustrade at the base of the octagonal dome the grandiose figures of the apostles (for one of which there is a study in the collection of Professor Mather at Princeton) strain toward the Virgin, who has left her tomb and is being carried upward through billowy clouds by a host of angels. From the center of the dome Christ descends to greet her. The principal part of the dome is painted to simulate the sky, so that it seems as if we were looking up through an opening in the roof, and so potent is the suggestion of movement everywhere that the figures seem actually to soar upward before our eyes and the clouds to roll across the opening, shutting off our view of the angelic hosts here and there. On a platform just beyond the balustrade are young boys performing funeral rites, perhaps, for the Virgin. They are no longer the sturdy little fellows who in the dome of S. Paolo remind us of Michelangelo's genii that accompany the prophets and sibyls on the Sistine Ceiling. These are adolescent youths, preferred by Correggio because more self-conscious and pulsating with pleasant sensations that they do not clearly understand. A drawing for one of these youths, also, is in Professor Mather's collection.

In the four pendentives that support this dome Correggio painted the four patron saints of Parma: John the Baptist, Thomas, Bernard, and Hilary. In each triangular field the device of a conch shell is used for the background. Into the curve of the shell a mass of clouds has blown down from the sky in the dome. Correggio has not entirely forgotten the Sistine Ceiling: like God the Father in the Creation scenes, each saint is here accompanied by genii,

different from Michelangelo's in type, but similar in certain details as well as in purpose. The genius that carries St. Hilary's crosier is closely related in pose to the one that might be interpreted as the Child Christ in the scene of the Creation of Adam (no. 872), while the gesture of St. Hilary echoes the gesture of God the Father in that same scene. There is a study for the head of St. Hilary in the Fogg Art Museum; it is more pleasing than the head in the painting because it is less agitated in pose, less extravagant in expression.

964

Correggio (1494-1534)

Danaë (c. 1532?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 5 ft., 3½ in.

Rome, Borghese

In the last years of his short life Correggio started for Charles V a series of mythological scenes representing the Loves of Jove. In such subjects his style finds full expression. Now his figures become calm and the sensuous quality that ever characterized his work is appropriate. It is significant that the dome of S. Paolo (no. 959), painted at the beginning of his career and this mythological series, at the end, are the least agitated and confused of all his works. It would seem as if the figures in his church domes and altarpieces felt uneasy and restless in their religious surroundings, and could find peace and quiet only when they came into a purely pagan environment, where they could abandon themselves to listlessness and amorous dreams.

Danaë, the quintessence of feminine softness and grace, reclines in blissful languor on her couch, receiving on her lap Jupiter's love in the form of a shower of gold. The youthful god of love sits at the foot of the couch, assisting in the reception of the golden shower and looking with rapture toward the source of the divine apparition. A study for the picture shows the room full of putti, playing over the couch and among the curtains, but when he painted the picture Correggio banished the gay troop, leaving only two little loves that sit on the couch step wholly absorbed in testing their arrow points. These are the brothers of the babe who poses as Christ in Correggio's altarpieces (cf. no. 960) and of the little rogue who smells the Magdalene's vase of ointment in the Madonna of the Day (cf. no. 961), as the cupid that sits entranced with the vision of the shower of gold is the angel from that Madonna group, who has found here a more fitting environment for his faun-like spirit.

The coloring in these mythological pictures has, like the action, become more subdued. They are soft harmonies of neutral tones, in which gray predominates.

If Correggio's turbulent ceiling decorations suggest the extravagances of seventeenth century baroque art, these last mythological scenes suggest the dainty, sensuous pictures of the rococo.

965

Caravaggio, Michelangelo (1569-1609)

Entombment (c. 1596)

Oil on Canvas. Figures above Life-Size

Rome, Vatican, Picture Gallery

In the paintings that Giulio Romano finished for Raphael (cf. nos. 865, 866, 868) we have already had occasion to notice the degeneration Italian art underwent in the hands of the followers of the great masters of the Renaissance.

Michelangelo Amerighi, called Caravaggio from his birthplace in Lombardy, was one of the first to recognize that the grand style had run its course and that the salvation of art lay in the breaking of new paths. He proposed to

effect the revolution through realism, realism of figure types, particularly, and, to some extent, realism of subject matter. Like many modern realists his interests were confined to low life, to ugliness and brutality. They were not vicarious interests in his case: he himself was passionate and brutal and found his associates among the lower classes. He killed a man in a duel and had to fly from one place to another to escape retribution for his desperate acts. He introduced low life genre into art, painting such pictures as the Card Players in the Dresden Gallery. And the realistic types that he used in his religious subjects would make them seem too earthly were it not for their sincere religious feeling.

The Entombment in the Vatican is usually considered Caravaggio's masterpiece. The expression of grief is here restrained and noble, and the realism of the figures is not exaggerated. St. John and Joseph of Arimathea, who carry the body, and the Virgin and the woman beside her were surely painted from living models; the Magdalene, who stands with arms extended at the back of the group, seems to be a semi-concession to the old idealism. Joseph of Arimathea is a gigantic figure, large out of proportion to the others; if he could stand up his head would break through the top of the frame. The body of Christ is carefully studied from a corpse.

But in spite of his search for realism in his figures, there is one thing that gives Caravaggio's pictures a very unreal appearance: the lighting is forced and theatrical. Instead of the gentle gradations of chiaroscuro that result from Correggio's study of real light, Caravaggio's pictures are filled with sharp contrasts of high lights and deep shadows, so that the effect is sensational rather than realistic.

966

Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609)

Madonna in Glory and Saints (1588?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 7 ft., 9½ in.

Bologna, Picture Gallery

Three members of the Carracci family in Bologna, two brothers and their cousin, attempted the salvation of Italian painting in a manner quite different from that proposed by Caravaggio (cf. no. 965), whose progress was based on rebellion against the old methods. The Carracci had no grudge against the grand style; they admired it enthusiastically. They admired it so much that they wanted to emulate every phase of it. Stated with some exaggeration, their theory was that if Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Correggio were great individually, one who could synthesize the characteristics of all would be four times as great as any one of them had been. They failed to realize that union would destroy the individuality and essential character of the masters. It is as if one should hope for an ideal person in one who unites the characteristics of both man and woman: everyone is familiar with the disagreeable hybrid, a mannish woman, or a womanish man. The Carracci's ideals, had they actually attained them, would have been quite as bad; fortunately they usually fell far short of this goal, and some of their works are pleasing, though usually the expression is exaggerated, and the figures that speak so affectedly have very little to say.

Annibale was the least intellectual of the Carracci trio and the best painter. His religious pictures are not so superior to those painted by the other two; our painting of the Madonna in Glory has the faults common to all, an over-sweetness of sentiment, a meaningless exaggeration of gesticulation. It was in his genre scenes and landscapes (cf. no. 967) that Annibale showed his ability.

Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609)

Flight into Egypt (1603-1604)

Oil on Canvas. H. 3 ft., 9½ in.

Rome, Doria-Pamphili Gallery

There were two things in which the Carracci showed genuine originality. They established in Bologna the first academy for organized art instruction, where students were taught to draw from the living model and from antique casts and where the Carracci theory of eclectic art was expounded. And they introduced landscape as an essentially independent art. Annibale was the most versatile of the three artists. Traditional religious themes, mythological subjects, low-life genre, and landscapes were in his regular repertory. He was contemporary with Paul Brill, who is usually credited with the introduction of landscape as a primary subject in painting. Annibale Carracci may have seen Paul Brill, who lived in Rome and died there in 1620. But he could not have met that Flemish artist before he painted some of his best landscapes. Already between 1589 and 1595, the year he went to Rome, he had painted a considerable number of pictures in which the landscapes are much more important than the figures. It is more probable that Annibale influenced Brill than that Brill influenced Annibale. The latter apparently drew his principal inspiration for landscape painting from the Venetians. The legend of the collaboration of the two artists, Brill painting the landscapes and Annibale the figures, is of comparatively recent origin and is unsubstantiated.

It is the figure subjects, as subordinate as they may be, that continued to give the titles to both Brill's and Carracci's landscapes. Figure subjects still furnish the excuse for Poussin's landscapes forty years later. Such a picture as Annibale's Flight into Egypt is the obvious forerunner of Poussin's Shepherds of Arcadia (no. 1121), Orpheus and Eurydice (no. 1120), and the like. There is the same appreciation of broad views of somewhat idealized nature, and there is the same subordination of the figures to the landscape. But for the halo, one would hardly notice that this is the Flight into Egypt; the figures in the foreground seem quite as much a part of the landscape as do the shepherd and herdsman. Camels coming up a distant slope give the Oriental touch; the landscape itself and the architecture are Italian. It is evident from this picture that Annibale's interest in nature was not confined to landscape; birds and animals are likewise drawn with appreciation.

The Flight into Egypt is Annibale's masterpiece in landscape painting. It represents his mature development, after he had become acquainted with Rome. His earlier landscapes, painted before he went to Rome, have a more rustic quality, a quality which may be appreciated in the many drawings that have come down to us even better than in the finished paintings. But it is upon the pictures painted after the visit to Rome that is based the right of the Carracci to be given precedence over the Flemings as forerunners and models of Claude Lorraine and Poussin.

Together with other lunettes in the Doria-Pamphili Gallery, the Flight into Egypt was executed for the chapel of the Aldobrandini palace at the order of Cardinal Farnese (the two families had been united by marriage) in 1603-1604.

Domenichino (1581-1641)

Diana and Her Nymphs (c. 1618)

Oil on Canvas. H. c. 8 ft.

Rome, Borghese

It has been said that Domenichino was the intermediary between Annibale Carracci and Nicolas Poussin, as Albani paved the way for Claude Lorraine. For although Poussin must have known the lunettes in the Aldobrandini chapel, particularly the Flight into Egypt (no. 967), which could almost pass for his own work, he seems in his writings quite indifferent to Annibale, bestowing all his praise upon Domenichino. Domenichino was the favorite pupil of

Annibale, studied under him in Bologna, followed him to Rome, and remained true to his example throughout his career. The numerous landscapes of his early activity show a close and sympathetic observation of nature. In his middle period he practically abandoned landscape, returning to it gradually in his later works.

Diana and Her Nymphs, in the Borghese, belongs to the middle period of the artist's activity, when his interest in figures outweighed his interest in landscape. This throng of girls and young women is full of beauty and grace, though a little cold and empty in spite of the animated poses and joyous action. The figures are well drawn and recall Correggio in the delicate play of light and shade over the soft flesh. In spite of the emphasis on the figures, the landscape is fine, especially in the foreground; the distant view through the opening at the right is less interesting, probably due to the fact that it was never finished. Fine too is the study of animal life, in the dog that strains at the leash as he catches sight of the spies, and in the other that, still unconscious of the intruders, drinks from the narrow stream.

Domenichino painted this picture for Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Shortly afterwards Rubens painted a similar subject, the Repose of Diana after the Chase. Comparison of the two pictures is favorable to Rubens in the matter of technique; which one is superior in conception depends altogether on the judge's taste: if you prefer delicate types, Domenichino wins; if you prefer exuberant vitality, the prize goes to Rubens.

969

Domenichino (1581-1641)

Last Communion of St. Jerome (1614)

Oil on Canvas. H. 13 ft., 9 in.

Rome, Vatican, Picture Gallery

Poussin was an enthusiastic admirer of Domenichino's Last Communion of St. Jerome, which created such a stir when it was completed in 1614; some damned it, some praised it with equal zeal. Poussin compared it to Raphael's Transfiguration (no. 868), classing the two pictures together as the supreme glories of painting in Rome. It was because of this, probably, that the two pictures were long hung opposite each other in the Vatican.

While the modern critic would hardly put Domenichino's picture in a class with Raphael's, he admits its excellence. There are evidences in it of Domenichino's admiration for Raphael: the kneeling youth at the right is particularly Raphaelesque in type. But the picture that served as Domenichino's model for the general form of the composition was undoubtedly Agostino Carracci's Communion of St. Jerome, now in the Bologna Picture Gallery. There we see a similar architectural setting, with a landscape view through an arch and putti flying above, the same type of saint, and even such details as the turbaned man. But Domenichino has improved upon his model. His composition is better spaced, his figure types are more varied and more carefully studied, and his action is more unified: the movement is all toward the dying saint, and all eyes are directed toward him. The most unsatisfactory part of the picture is the group of putti above; they are stiff and heavy - one instinctively looks for the wires by which they must be suspended. In this detail Agostino Carracci did better to take a suggestion from Titian's Assumption (no. 931).

A remarkable quality of Domenichino's picture is its quiet, monumental composition; in the midst of the early enthusiasm for baroque turbulence, he seems to have been striving to emulate the grand style of the sixteenth century. And yet more than one baroque master found our painting a source of inspiration: there are echoes of it in a drawing of the same subject by Salvator Rosa, a Pieta by Ribera, the Communion of St. Francis (at Antwerp) by Rubens, and the Communion of St. Lucy (in SS. Apostoli, Venice) by Tiepolo.

Domenichino's picture was painted for the church of S. Maria d'Aracoeli. It is signed with Domenichino's true name: DOM. ZAMPERIVS. BONON. F.A. MDCLXIV.

Reni, Guido (1575-1642)

The Virgin in Glory with Sts. Thomas and Jerome (c. 1605?)

Oil on Canvas. H. 11 ft., 2 in.

Rome, Vatican

Guido Reni is about as little esteemed to-day as the French painter Bougereau. But the latter is more deserving of his unpopularity. Guido painted many pictures that are as sentimental and empty as Bougereau's; but they belong principally to his later years, when his artistic conscientiousness was undermined by the necessity of turning out work in great quantity to make up for his losses at gambling.

Guido was a pupil of the Carracci, but he was influenced also by their despised rival, Caravaggio. From Caravaggio, probably, he got his interest in realism. In the altarpiece of the Madonna with Sts. Thomas and Jerome, originally in the cathedral at Pesaro and now in the Vatican, there is a creditable study of anatomy in the two saints, particularly the half nude St. Jerome, and there are Caravaggiesque contrasts of light and shade. The Madonna, sweet-faced, but more bored than serious in expression, gives an intimation of the sentimentalism into which Guido's work was destined to degenerate.

Reni, Guido (1575-1642)

Aurora: Ceiling Decoration (1609)

Fresco

Rome, Casino Rospigliosi

We are no longer reminded of Caravaggio in Guido Reni's masterpiece, the Aurora. It is a ceiling decoration that he painted for Cardinal Borghese in the garden pavillion of the palace that was only finished in 1615 and is now known, from later owners, as the Rospigliosi palace. The work falls in Guido's first Roman sojourn, when he was enthusiastic for the antique and the style of Raphael. One can find in the decoration suggestions taken from Raphael's Roman work, particularly from his decorations in the Farnesina: the Triumph of Galatea and the story of Psyche (cf. no. 866). And the origin of certain of the details can be traced to classical sculpture, as the heads of Aurora and one of the Hours, that derive from the Uffizi Niobe. But for the conception of the painting as a whole Guido is to be given full credit. Its charm makes us willing to forget the great mass of mediocre and worse than mediocre work that he turned out as pot boilers, or, rather, jack pot boilers. Many people are willing to agree with Burckhart's evaluation of the picture as "taken all in all, the most accomplished work of its century."

Like most decorative painting, the fresco of Aurora can be by no means justly appraised in reproduction. One needs to see it in its place on the ceiling of the rich pavillion in all the glory of its color. Apollo, the sun god, in a burst of yellow light, mounts the sky in his chariot drawn by fiery steeds. He is accompanied by the Hours and preceded by the Morning Star and Aurora herself, who drives the darkness before her and scatters flowers upon the earth still shrouded in shadows. What we can appreciate in the reproduction are the graceful forms of the figures, the rhythmic lines of the draperies, and the onward sweep of the whole procession, that seems to catch us as we look and carry us along in its midst.

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